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AN UNDERSTANDING OF BILINGUALISM AND ITS EFFECT ON INDIVIDUAL LEARNING PROCESSES WAS THE THEME OF THESE PAPERS PREPARED FOR A JUNE 1964 CONFERENCE FOR THE TEACHER OF THE BILINGUAL CHILD (UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS). TWO PAPERS SUBMITTED BY JOSHUA A. FISHMAN DISCUSS THE STATUS OF NON-ENGLISH LANGUAGE RESOURCES IN THE UNITED STATES, THE PROSPECTS FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THESE RESOURCES, AND THE POSSIBLE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN BILINGUALISM, INTELLIGENCE, AND LANGUAGE LEARNING. THE NEED TO CORRECT CURRENT MISEDUCATION OF SPANISH-SPEAKING CHILDREN IN THE SOUTH AND SOUTHWEST, AND THE APPLICATION OF PRINCIPLES LEARNED FROM LANGUAGE EDUCATION OF BILINGUALS TO LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN GENERAL IS STRESSED BY THEODORE ANDERSSON. ACCULTURATION OF THE BILINGUAL CHILD IS PROMOTED IN CHESTER C. CHRISTIAN JR.'S REPORT. A. BRUCE GAARDER DISCUSSES THE RESEARCH EFFORTS DESIGNED TO STRENGTHEN AND MAINTAIN A CHILD'S MOTHER TONGUE, WHICH IN TURN COULD HAVE POSITIVE EFFECTS ON THAT YOUNGSTER'S INTELLECT, PERSONALITY, AND ABILITY TO LEARN ENGLISH. THE LAST TWO PAPERS PRESENTED HERE FIND THE AUTHORS, DAVID T. HAKES, AND PAULINE M. ROJAS, DEALING RESPECTIVELY WITH UNDERSTANDING THE BILINGUAL THROUGH PSYCHOLOGY, AND INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS SPECIFICALLY GEARED FOR BILINGUALS. THIS IS A REPRINT FROM "THE MODERN LANGUAGE JOURNAL," VOLUME 49, NUMBERS 3 AND 4, MARCH AND APRIL 1965, PAGES 143-175, 220-239. (AF)

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BILINGUALISM AND THE BILINGUAL CHILD

A Symposium

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Bilingualism and the Bilingual Child —A Symposium

FOREWORD

THE papers presented in this symposium were originally prepared for the Conference for the Teacher of the Bilingual Child held at the University of Texas, June 8 to 10, 1964, under the direction of Dr. Joseph Michel. To him and to Dr. Theodore Andersson we are indebted for this opportunity to serve an area of language research and methodology which demands attention in order to define language learning in broader contexts.

Because ethnic bilingualism offers the United States of America a reserve of potential language proficiency among its citizens in terms of the purposes of the National Defense Education Act, it is becoming increasingly urgent that very serious research and study relating to all the facets of teaching bilingual children be increased. The stigma that has long been attached in our country to initial language learning in a tongue other than English has now the possibility of being converted into a mark of individual superiority.

Through this symposium we seek to continue to aid this quest for total understanding of bilingualism and its effect on the learning processes of the individual. Much fiction has been compounded about bilingual learning processes in early childhood, which research must now dispel. It is hoped that from these papers greater impetus will be gained to preserve among ethnic bilingual children the heritage of the home as it is joined to that imparted by the school, so that the intimate communication of some Americans with foreign cultures can be maintained with sympathetic understanding.

—ROBERT F. ROEMING

*The Status and Prospects of Bilingualism in the United States**

JOSHUA A. FISHMAN, *Yeshiva University*

I. *The Current Status of Non-English Language Resources in the United States*

1. In 1960 the non-English language resources of the United States were undoubtedly smaller than they had been a decade or two previously. Nevertheless, they were still huge, both in absolute terms and relation to their twentieth century high-water marks in the two decades, 1920 to 1940.[1]

Approximately nineteen million individuals or eleven percent of the entire American population possessed a non-English mother tongue in 1960. The mother tongues involved represent a very high proportion of those extant throughout the world that have evolved to the point of becoming standard literary languages as well as not a few that have not yet reached this stage of development. Relative to 1940, the quantitative position of the "colonial languages"—Spanish, French, and German—has remained far better than that of all but the most recently reinforced immigrant languages. However, even in the case of most of those

* Presented at the Conference for the Teacher of the Bilingual Child, University of Texas, June 8–10, 1964, and prepared while the author was a Fellow (1963–1964) at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford University.

[1] Joshua A. Fishman et al., *Language Loyalty in the United States*, New York: Yeshiva University, 1964. A mimeographed report, in three volumes, to the Language Research Section of the United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. A one volume summary, published by Mouton, will appear in 1965.

immigrant languages that did *not* benefit from post-war immigration and that have suffered most from internal attrition and external apathy, there were still subgroups with sufficient cultural-linguistic intactness to maintain functional bilingualism and to provide good prospects of marked gain in either functional or cultural bilingualism from well designed and vigorous reinforcement efforts.

2. The non-English press boasted over 500 periodic publications in 1960 and continued to have a circulation of approximately five and one-half millions, as well as a "pass-along" readership estimated to be equally large. Although non-English dailies and weeklies have regularly lost circulation since 1930, monthlies have experienced circulation gains in recent decades. Non-English broadcasting also seems to be in a far better state of health in 1960 than was usually thought to be the case—with over 1600 "stations" broadcasting more than 6,000 hours of non-English language programs every week in the continental United States. However, this latter picture largely reflects the continued strength of Spanish broadcasting, which alone accounts for two thirds of all non-English broadcasting in the United States. Furthermore, both the non-English press and non-English broadcasting, with the exception of Spanish broadcasting, are largely dependent upon and oriented toward a first generation clientele. The latter, in turn, represents slightly less than half of the claimants of almost all non-English mother tongues in the United States. Thus, although immigrant status itself is not predictive of either language maintenance or language loyalty, both of these phenomena are heavily dependent upon immigrant status; the colonial languages constituting the only noteworthy exceptions to this generalization.

3. In 1960 there were clearly 1800 (and probably a good many more) ethnic "cultural" organizations in the United States. Many of these, including the largest among them, serve first, second, and third generation members. Nearly three-quarters of all ethnic cultural organizations favor maintenance of the particular non-English mother tongue appropriate to their respective origins. However, the very fact that ethnic organizations have been more successful than either the non-English press or non-English broadcasting in attracting second and third generation interest has also led most of them to exceedingly marginal and passive approaches to ethnicity and to language maintenance. The organizations represent bulwarks of structural more than of behavioral-cultural pluralism.

4. The most active language maintenance institution in most ethnic communities in the United States is the ethnic group school. Over 2,000, and perhaps as many as 3,000, such schools currently function in the United States. More than half offer mother tongue instruction even when there are many "non-ethnics" and "other-ethnics" among their pupils. On the whole, they succeed in reinforcing or developing moderate comprehension, reading, writing, and speaking facility in their pupils. However, they are far less successful in implanting retentivist language attitudes which might serve to maintain language facility after their students' programs of study have been completed, approximately at age fourteen. Although the languages learned by pupils in ethnic group schools are normally "ethnic mother tongues," rather than true mother tongues, the levels of facility attained usually are sufficient to provide a foundation for cultural bilingualism. However, this foundation is rarely reinforced after the completion of study in the ethnic group school.

5. Mother tongue teachers in ethnic group schools rarely view themselves as powerful factors in determining language-maintenance outcomes. They do not believe that their pupils accomplish overly much, particularly with respect to the more active aspects of language maintenance. They typically report that their pupils become decreasingly interested in mother tongue instruction as they advance through the grades and they typically attribute this and other instructional difficulties to parental apathy or opposition to the mother tongue. They most frequently view the mother tongues that they teach as not being among the most prestigeful in the United States, an honor reserved for French and Spanish almost exclusively. However, the determinants of language prestige, unlike the determinants of instructional difficulties, are attributed to "Ameri-

can" rather than to ethnic factors. When group maintenance is seen as being in conflict with language maintenance, the former is frequently preferred, except in the case of mother tongue teachers associated with very recent immigrant groups, most of whom reject the possibility of any such conflict.

6. The relationship between ethnicity, religion and language remains strong, although the middle term, religion, tends to withdraw ever more rapidly from the tri-partite association. Religion is organizationally "successful" in the United States; and therefore, its less successful companions, ethnicity and language, lean upon it heavily for support. However, the more "successful" religion becomes, the more de-ethnicized it becomes, the more amenable to mergers with other de-ethnicized churches, and the more disinterested in language maintenance. Language maintenance in historically ethnic churches is continued on a habitual rather than on an ideological-purposive basis, on ethnic rather than on religious grounds, and in conjunction with adult rather than youth activities. The triple melting pot leading toward de-ethnicized Catholicism, Protestantism and Judaism and the mere passage of time represent the two most prevalent religious solutions to the "embarrassment" of language maintenance. Traditional *ritual protection* of non-English vernaculars, such as exists in the Greek Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches, functions more as a significant delaying factor than as a crucial outcome factor in this connection.

7. Ethnic cultural-organizational *leaders* and *rank-and-file* ethnics display essentially similar patterns in conjunction with language-maintenance efforts and processes. In both instances, immigrants are more retentive, within the family and outside of it, than are second generation individuals. In both instances, organization membership and organizational activity have become more important means of insulating ethnicity than language. In both instances, older children are more linguistically retentive than younger children, first children more so than last children, children more so than grandchildren, organizationally-affiliated children more so than unaffiliated children. Whereas first generation leaders consist of both cultural and organizational activists, second generation leaders are almost exclusively organization activists. Although they favor language maintenance, they do so with essentially non-ethnic rationales and their support for language maintenance is more frequently attitudinal rather than overt. Philosophies or rationales of biculturalism and bilingualism are weak or non-existent.

8. There are two large worlds of non-English languages in the United States. One is the officially recognized and supported world of "foreign language" instruction in non-ethnic public and private high schools and colleges. The other is the largely unrecognized and unsupported world of ethnic language-maintenance efforts. These two worlds meet in the persons of foreign language teachers, over half of whom are of an immediate ethnic background appropriate to one of the languages they teach. Teachers of ethnically more infused, less prestigious languages, e.g., German and Italian, as contrasted with French and Spanish, particularly those at the college and university level, are most likely to have been ethnically exposed and to favor, attitudinally, language maintenance efforts. However, these same teachers are also under the greatest strain toward professionalization and are, therefore, least inclined to utilize for instructional purposes the resources of minority cultural-linguistic groups such as native speakers, publications, broadcasts, choral-dramatic presentations.

9. Detailed integrative case studies of six separate cultural-linguistic groups have tended to provide independent support for the above generalizations. In general language maintenance and language shift have proceeded along quite similar lines in the three high-prestige colonial languages, French, Spanish, German, and in the three low-prestige immigrant languages, Yiddish, Hungarian, Ukrainian that were studied in great detail. Although differing widely with respect to period of settlement, numerical size, balance between low-culture and high-culture language retentivism, religious protection of the vernacular, and social mobility of their speakers, the drift has been consistently toward anglification and has become accelerated in recent years. Differences between the six language groups seem to be

great only in connection with the *rate of change* toward anglification. Only in the case of Spanish and Ukrainian speakers are relatively sizeable contingents of young and youthful bilinguals still available. In the Ukrainian case this is primarily due to recent large immigration. In the Spanish case it is due to the absence of economic mobility. Symbolically elaborated ethnicity, language loyalty, and religious protection of the vernacular are *absent* in the Spanish case and *present* in the case of Ukrainian. All in all, certain pervasive characteristics of American nationalism (social mobility on a non-ethnic, ideological, mass-culture base) and certain pervasive characteristics of most immigrant heritages (non-ideological ethnicity, "backwardness") seem to have been much more effective in jointly producing essentially similar outcomes than have the various uniquenesses of ethnic heritages or of immigrational-settlement patterns in safeguarding cultural and linguistic differences.

10. The modal characteristics of language-maintenance efforts among southern and eastern European immigrants arriving during the period of mass immigration can be roughly summarized as follows:

a. Language was rarely a consciously identified or valued component of daily, traditional ethnicity. Ethnicity itself was minimally-ideologized or organized in terms of conscious nationalistic or symbolic considerations.

b. Rapid immersion in the American metropolis and in American national values resulted in the fragmentation of traditional ways. These fragments of ethnicity that were retained in a disjointed and altered fashion were usually insufficient for the maintenance of functional bilingualism beyond the first generation.

c. Ethnicity and language maintenance became increasingly and overly dependent on the major organizational institution previously available in the "old country" setting and most successfully transplanted to the United States: the church. However, the church increasingly withdrew from ethnicity and from language maintenance in order to pursue its own organizational goals.

d. Attempts to utilize the formal organizational mechanisms of high culture and of industrialized metropolitan and modern national life on behalf of language and culture maintenance proceeded without the benefit of a popular ideological base that could either complete with or be joined to that of American nationalism.

e. As a result, neither traditional intactness nor ideological mobilization was available to the second generation. "Revolts" were common when maximal retentivist claims were advanced by the first generation and become uncommon when such claims were no longer pressed.

f. The second generation "outgrew" the fragmented ethnicity of the first but frequently retained an attachment to even more marginal expressions of ethnicity via the church, other organizations, and familial remnants of traditional ethnicity. While these have been insufficient for functional language maintenance, they have often preserved a positive attitudinal substratum toward the ethnic language and culture. This positiveness becomes more evident as the second generation advances through adulthood.

g. The third generation approached ethnicity with even greater selectivity, frequently viewing the ethnic mother tongue as a cultural or instrumental desideratum and viewing ethnicity as an area of appreciation or a field of study. De-ethnicized language maintenance elicits interest in the third generation although facility is rare.

11. Of all the foregoing, what can be considered new or striking in the light of previous studies or common knowledge? Certainly, the availability of systematic empirical data, rather than anecdotal impressions, is new for many of the topics under discussion. The vastness of language-maintenance efforts, even after generations of attrition, is certainly striking, but so is the fact that these efforts are so largely habitual and unfocused even within the very operation of organizations, schools, churches, and the mass media. The conscious, ideologically based and rationally directed efforts of language loyalists normally reach and influence only a small fraction of even the first generation of speakers of non-English languages. The uniformally changed role of religion with respect to language maintenance, from initially wholeheated support to implacable opposition or unmovable apathy, is also striking

and, hitherto, largely unappreciated. Similarly striking is the fact that opposition to language maintenance in the second and third generations of immigrant stock is now most commonly on a low key and un-ideologized. The days of bitter language disputes seem to be over, even between the age groups involved in such disputes in former decades. The continuation of favorable language maintenance sentiments much beyond the time of language maintenance behavior is also striking, particularly in that it goes hand in hand with a continued acceptance of ethnicity and even a search for ethnicity of an appropriately selective and marginal nature. Whereas language maintenance becomes a progressively weaker and smaller component of such ethnicity, organizational and religious involvement, cultural interests, and modified-disjointed festive acts become relatively stronger and are maintained much longer. Thus it is that the most striking fact of all comes into focus, namely, that a vast amount of language maintenance can exist side by side with the gradual disappearance of language maintenance, with the two *interacting* and *contributing* to *each other*.

12. *Summary and interpretation of findings.* Today, language maintenance in the United States is strongest among those immigrants who have maintained greatest psychological, social and cultural distance from the institutions, processes and values of American core society.[2] Ideological protection of non-English mother tongues without concomitant withdrawal from interaction with American society, the pattern adopted by urban religionists and by secular-cultural nationalists in the United States, has been a somewhat less effective bulwark of language maintenance than has ethnic-religious *separatism* based upon intact, rural Little Traditions. Where neither ideological nor ethno-religious protection has obtained language shift has proceeded in proportion to mobility within the larger sphere of American society, as reflected by indices of education, occupation, or income. Either type of protection was exceedingly rare. As a result, between-group differences in language maintenance came to reflect immigrational recency, settlement concentration, numerical size and social mobility much more than they reflect between-group differences in post-immigrational maintenance efforts. Within group differences in language maintenance also came to depend primarily on the same set of factors, together with rurality, and to a smaller but nevertheless noticeable degree, upon conscious maintenance efforts *per se*.

Our current information concerning behaviors directed toward ethnic mother tongues on the part of their erstwhile and sometime speakers must be viewed in the perspective of the transitions that these tongues have most commonly experienced in the United States. From their original positions as vernaculars of entire religio-ethnic communities they are now the vernaculars only of very recent or atypical subpopulations. From their earlier position of use in all of the domains of life related to the particular socio-cultural patterns of their speakers they are now predominantly employed in fewer and in particularly symbolic or restricted domains.

a. *Attitudinal-affective behaviors.*

Concomitant with the accelerated de-ethnization and social mobility of erstwhile or sometime speakers and their offspring, and concomitant with their relegation to fewer and narrower domains, non-English mother tongues have frequently experienced increases in general esteem during the past 15–20 years. They are more frequently viewed positively and nostalgically by older first and second generation individuals who characterized them as ugly, corrupted and grammarless in pre-World War II days. The third generations view them, almost always via translations, with less emotion but with even greater respect. Thus, instead of a "third generation return" there has been an "attitudinal halo-ization" within large segments of all generations, albeit unaccompanied by increased use. This development, a negative relationship between use rates and attitudinal positiveness over time, was not foreseen by most earlier studies of language maintenance or language shift in immigrant contact settings. In the United States this development

[2] Joshua A. Fishman, *Language maintenance and language shift: The American immigrant case within a general theoretical perspective* (Mimeographed and submitted for publication).

is an aspect of the continued and growing affective functioning of increasingly marginal ethnicity. In the absence of basic economic, geographic, cultural or psychological separation between most ethnics and American core society, ethnic mother tongues survive longest at two extremes: the highly formal (the ritual-symbolic) and the highly intimate (the expressive-emotive). At these extremes they remain available to successive generations as reminders of ethnicity, and, when needed, as reaffirmers of ethnicity.

b. *Overt behavioral implementation of maintenance or shift.*

Most language reinforcement efforts, though much weakened by ideological and numerical attrition, continue along the traditional lines of information programs, religio-ethnic schools, periodic publications, broadcasts, cultural activities, etc. However, even in connection with language reinforcement efforts the transition to more marginal ethnicity and to more restricted language maintenance is evident. Thus, taking the field of ethnic periodic publications as an example, we note concomitant and continued shifts from more frequent to less frequent publications as well as shifts from all mother tongue, to mixed, to all English publications. However, the process of de-ethnization has also brought with it a few novel avenues of reinforcement. As even the more "exotic" ethnic mother tongues, those not usually considered among the major carriers of European civilization, and therefore, heretofore most frequently associated with foreign ethnicity in the minds of average Americans, have ceased to be primarily associated with immigrant disadvantages or with full blown religio-ethnic distinctiveness, and have been increasingly introduced as languages of study and research at the university, college, and public high school levels. Although bilingual public schools such as those that existed before the First World War have not been reintroduced (except on a very halting, belated and experimental basis), the bilingual college, or monolingual non-English college, which passed from the American scene at about the same time, has been reintroduced of late.[3] Seemingly, massive displacement has greater inhibitory impact on language planning efforts than it does on language reinforcement efforts. The latter are essentially conservative and seem to require less in the way of highly specialized leadership. The former are essentially modificatory and dependent upon expert linguistic advice in concert with compliance producing or persuasive authority. Thus archaic or rustic orthographic, lexical and structural features continue to characterize most non-English mother tongues spoken in the United States and interference proceeds apace, both because planning and enforcing authorities are lacking and because the old find it more difficult to adopt innovations.

Vocal advocates of language shift have practically disappeared, although institutional support for shift still exists along quiet but pervasive lines. Religious bodies have been particularly persistent in de-ethnicizing parishes and anglifying church activities as they have gained in institutional autonomy and centralization. The Roman Catholic Church has been most active along these lines whereas churches in which non-English languages are ritually protected, like the Byzantine Rite Catholic or Eastern Orthodox churches, have, by comparison, remained relatively conservative in this respect. In general, religion has more quickly and more successfully disassociated itself from ethnicity and arrived at independent legitimization in the United States than has the use of non-English mother tongues *per se*.

c. *Debilitating factors.*

Lest the immediately foregoing remarks be misinterpreted as an attack on religion in general, or as an implication that religious organitions have been particularly responsible (most "causative") in conjunction with the enfeeblement of language maintenance in the United States, let me hasten to indicate that such is *not* the case. Elsewhere, I have spelled out in

[3] Experimental bilingual elementary grades were recently attempted in Texas (1958–60) and are now being conducted in Florida (1963–66). At the college level the University of the Pacific (Stockton, California) has established Covell College in which Spanish is the language of instruction in all classes. "The Ford Foundation Projects in Bilingual Education," *The Modern Language Journal*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 4 (April, 1964), pp. 239–241.

great detail the major forces that seem to me to have been operative in this connection.[4] I will only mention them very briefly here:

Pre-contact factors. In general, very few pre-World War I immigrants to the United States brought with them an explicit valuation of their mother tongue. The majority came from pre-industrial, largely rural, peasant settings in which language, folkways, religion and husbandry were intertwined into a wholistic Little Tradition which provided little conscious or traditional preparation for language maintenance in American industrial metropoli. However, only a very few rural immigrants came with a conscious and separatist's commitment to their tradition. Of those who came from urban backgrounds, only a minority were deeply influenced by symbolically elaborated ethnicity (nationalism) which created Great Traditions and, in certain instances, converted languages into "causes." In a majority of cases, city life had merely detradionalized and de-ethnicized those who later became immigrants, rather than having provided them with an ideological substitute for primordial ethnicity. Finally, the few that came with serious intellectual and emotional commitments to their language, culture and people rarely possessed a rationale which made such commitments pertinent to permanent interactive settlement in the United States. Interwar and post-World War II immigrants more frequently possessed urban backgrounds, familiarity with the standard version of their mother tongue, its literature and their national history. Nevertheless, they were even more de-traditionalized and de-ideologized from the point of view of commitment to diaspora maintenance of language, culture and people than earlier immigrants.

Host-society factors. The rapidly developing, manpower-hungry, industrial-commercial metropoli in which the majority of immigrants settled further weakened the traditional social relationships and pre-established role structures in which the use of their mother tongues was customarily involved.[5] In addition, American nationalism was primarily non-ethnic or supra-ethnic in comparison with the nationalisms of most of Europe. Consisting primarily of commitment to the ideals of American democracy, rationality in human affairs, political and social equality, unlimited individual and collective progress, it did not obviously clash with or demand the betrayal of immigrant *ethnic* values or patterns. In the absence of significant traditional, ideological or occupational separatism or exclusionism among either immigrants or hosts there were few reinforcers of language maintenance and few barriers to language shift.

The above thumb-nail sketches must not be hastily accepted as constituting a paradigm for the progress of language maintenance or language shift in all possible immigrant-based contact settings. It may be applicable only to those settings characterized by sharply unequal power configurations between immigrants and hosts, by incorporation as the type of control, by marked plurality and recent immigration as the plurality pattern, by intermediate stratification and substantial mobility within the social structure, and by widespread mutual legitimization of acculturation and de-ethnization as accompaniments of urbanization, industrialization, mass culture and ever-widening social participation. In general, we know (or suspect) much more about the dynamics of language maintenance and language shift in the American immigrant contact situation than we do about these processes in settings involving two indigenous populations utilizing more equally "official" languages; e.g., Riksmaal-Landsmaal in Norway, Spanish-Guarani in Paraguay, Schwyzertütsch-Romansh in Switzerland, Dutch-French in Belgium, Welsh and English in Wales, etc. This imbalance has resulted in a skewing of conclusions and concepts among students of language maintenance and language shift.[6] If the above-mentioned parameters have any general value this is due to the fact that they have revealed that language shift may be accompanied by a heightening of certain attitudinal, cognitive, and implementa-

[4] Joshua A. Fishman, "Language maintenance in a supra-ethnic age," in Fishman et al., *Language Loyalty in the United States*, Chapter 22.

[5] As of 1960 the national rate of urban residence was 70% whereas the rate among the foreign born was 84%. The discrepancy was even greater in former years.

[6] Joshua A. Fishman, "Language maintenance and language shift as a field of inquiry; a definition of the field and suggestions for its further development," *Linguistics*, No. 9 (November, 1964), pp. 32–70.

tional responses to languages that are being displaced. In general, ethnicity appears to be a much more stable phenomenon than language maintenance. On the one hand, most immigrants became bilingual (i.e., English displaced hitherto exclusive use of their mother tongue in connection with certain sources and domains of variance in language use) much before they embarked on de-ethnization or seriously contemplated the possibility of bi-culturism. On the other hand, marginal but yet functional ethnicity lingers on, and is transmitted via English, much after the ethnic mother tongue is completely lost or left untouched. Curiously enough, the lingering of marginal ethnicity supports respect, interest and nostaliga for the ethnic mother tongue. This development prompts language loyalists to entertain renewed hopes for revitalization even though displacement is far advanced. Thus, the very resultants of deep-reaching socio-cultural change also carry with them the seeds of further change and of counter-change.

II. *Implications for the Preservation of Bilingualism in the United States*

1. After many generations of neglect and apathy, American speakers of non-English languages have, of late, become objects of more positive attention than has previously been their common lot in most American communities. They have not been proclaimed national heroes, nor have they been the recipients of public or private largess. Indeed, for the general public, they continue to be objects of curiosity in that their atypicality is obvious even if it is no longer considered shameful. Nevertheless, the attitude toward them *has* changed. They are now more frequently viewed as commanding a gift, a rare commodity, a skill which has "suddenly" become a valuable asset for the country, and therefore, for themselves as individuals. As a result, there have been a number of recent efforts to study the distribution of this commodity and to consider ways of safeguarding it. The Language Resources Project itself may be viewed as one such effort; there have been a few others and there could be many more if it were fully and finally decided to pursue a consistent and effective policy of language maintenance, reinforcement and development. We urgently need high level concern with the formulation of such a policy in full awareness of its purpose, its costs and its risks.

In view of our growing concern today for the protection and cultivation of bilingualism, let me say very frankly that we must guard against sentimentalizing bilingualism as much as against deprecating it. If bilingualism has its assets and if its protection and facilitation are related to our democratic values and our national needs, then let me add that bilingualism also has its costs and its debits. A brief review of the manifold differences between the 52 linguistically homogeneous and the 62 linguistically heterogeneous independent nations of today will quickly reveal that linguistics heterogeneity can be decidedly a mixed blessing.[7]

Linguistically homogeneous polities are economically more developed, educationally more advanced, politically more modernized, and ideologically-politically more tranquil and stable. They reveal more orderly, more libertarian and more secular forms of interest, articulation and aggregation, greater division of governmental powers, and less attraction toward personalismo and leadership charisma. All in all, linguistic homogeneity characterizes the nation-state in which primordial ties and passions are more frequently under control, cultural-religious homogeneity and enlightenment are more advanced, more modern forms of heterogeneity via associational, institutional and political groups are fostered, and the good life is economically within the reach of a greater proportion of the populace. If there is any fly in this ointment it is that some homogeneous polities have been in such a hurry to approach these desirable end-points that they have felt a need for more "decisive" authoritarian guidance in the political and economic areas in order to do so.

In general we find here the well-known relationships between industrialization, urbanization, modernization, westernization, Christianization and homogenization that has been explicated by modern political philosophy, history and sociology during the past century. In

[7] Joshua A. Fishman, *Some contrasts between linguistically homogeneous and linguistically heterogeneous polities* (Mimeographed and submitted for publication).

most instances linguistic and, more generally, cultural homogeneity has been interpreted as a consequence of the other processes and characteristics enumerated above. Linguistic and cultural parochialism and particularism have usually been interpreted as giving ground as man becomes ever more at home in the complexities of society on a larger and presumably higher scale. However, the cohesiveness of so many of the distinctions between linguistically homogeneous and heterogeneous polities prompts the question as to whether causal forces may not have been at work *in the opposite direction as well*. Is it possible that an appreciable level of linguistic and cultural homogeneity may have facilitated the "Westernization" of the West? This question (or more probably, this suspicion) must be in the minds of many planners in currently underdeveloped nations. It may require an exceptional concern, by force or by choice, for linguistic heterogeneity in order to preserve or reinforce such heterogeneity in the face of the obviously greater economic efficiency of linguistic homogeneity. It remains to be seen whether linguistically and culturally heterogeneous Africa and Asia can move forward significantly into the "modern world" without either bringing about or being helped along by the greater degrees of homogeneity recorded in Western experience.[8]

2. The problems of language maintenance in the United States are being considered at the very time that our country is convulsed as never before by the need to liberate millions of citizens from primordial restrictions of a particularly debilitating and shameful kind. This co-occurrence heaps additional difficulty upon any attempt to distinguish between various primoridal attachments and to strengthen some while weakening others. Since native linguistic competence cannot be preserved without preserving some form of strong paralinguistic difference, my discussion of language maintenance at this time runs the risk of eliciting charges of parochialism and ghettoization or worse. Actually, two different kinds of ghettos must be overcome. One is the parochialism of ethnic superiority which rejects change and egalitarian participation in the modern culture and in modern society at large. This type of ghetto is far weaker in the United States than it has ever been, and it is becoming increasingly enfeebled. The other parochialism is that which considers everything ethnic to be foreign or worthless. This type of ghetto, regrettably, is still all too evident around us. The co-existence of these *two* kinds of parochialism implies that there is no easy route to language maintenance in the United States. Language maintenance in the United States is faced by the task of consciously strengthening certain carefully selected cultural *differences* at the same time that we strain to attain other carefully selected cultural similarities or equalities. Language maintenance must pursue both unity and diversity, both proximity and distance, both particularism and cosmopolitanism. However, in all of these respects, language maintenance is merely a reflection at the national-cultural level of a problem that every mature individual must solve within himself even when ethnic considerations are entirely absent.

The cultural and political unity of the United States seems to be sufficiently assured that there need be no fear of the spectre of "Balkanization" as a result of non-English language maintenance and "non-core" ethnic cultural diversity within sub-groups of the American population. There is no longer any reasonable basis upon which to fear an entrenchment on our shores of the political and economic cleavages which primordial cultural and linguistic diversity have forced upon Belgium or Canada in the West, or upon India and Ceylon in the East. A common pattern of commitment to and participation in American political processes and socio-cultural values has developed and has become increasingly established among almost all sub-groups within American society. Common patterns of food preference, of entertainment, of occupational aspiration, of dress, of education, and of language have become

[8] Let me add, parenthetically, that economic development is a much stronger "cause" of all the foregoing characteristics than is linguistic heterogeneity. Wealthy, linguistically heterogeneous nations are much more similar to wealthy linguistically homogeneous nations than they are to poor nations, whether linguistically homogeneous or heterogeneous. When level of economic development is controlled the only remaining correlates of linguistic heterogeneity *per se* are sectionalism and political enculturation.

ever more widely and deeply engrained. However, the process of strengthening these unities and communalities has proceeded so far as to endanger the cultural and linguistic diversity that many sub-groups desire and that may well benefit our national welfare and our cultural enrichment. Our political and cultural foundations are weakened when large population groupings do not feel encouraged to express, to safeguard and to develop behavioral patterns that are traditionally meaningful to them. Our national creativity and personal purposefulness are rendered more shallow when constructive channels of self-expression are blocked and when alienation from ethnic-cultural roots becomes the *necessary* price of self-respect and social advancement regardless of the merits of the cultural components under consideration. For those groups that desire it, there must be *openly sanctioned* and *publicly encouraged* avenues of linguistic and cultural distinctiveness which will provide both a general atmosphere as well as specific facilitation for diversity within the general framework of American unity. Mutual acceptance, permissiveness and support at an official policy level must be at the base of this diversity, rather than either functional exploitation in times of need or the mere absence of restriction alone. Certainly, now that the basic patterns of American nationhood are safely established and have momentum of their own, cultural and linguistic diversity deserves to be protected for its own sake, as a "good" of American reality and as a "given" of democratic sensitivity. Both a general atmosphere or climate and particular organizations or structures are required to bring such a state of affairs into being.

Elsewhere, I have made a number of detailed recommendations for the reinforcement of language maintenance in the United States.[9] These necessarily derive from my values and biases concerning the general worthwhileness of safeguarding linguistic and cultural diversity in American life. They also derive quite directly and necessarily from my values and biases concerning the spheres in which such diversity is desirable and the intensiveness with which language maintenance is to be pursued. Far different recommendations would flow from a model of American society which aimed at securing cultural autonomy within an officially protected multi-language and multi-culture political framework. Far different recommendations would be offered on the basis of a desire to maintain major population groups on a fully intact, separate, monolingual, non-English speaking basis. No such *verzuiling* is desired;[10] nor is it a *sine qua non* for the successful pursuit of language maintenance. Every nation, new or old, that engages in language maintenance efforts must define the domains in which cultural and linguistic unity must receive precedence over cultural and linguistic diversity. Every nation, developing or developed, that pursues planned reinforcement of language maintenance must decide on the appropriateness of extensive vs. intensive efforts toward that goal.

My recommendations, which I will merely enumerate rather than discuss, neither envision nor seek the disestablishment of English as the common language of American unity and as the basic language of American culture, government and education for all Americans. Rather, they have in mind the planned reinforcement of non-English languages and their underlying non-core cultures for those who desire them, for those who are willing and able to expend considerable efforts and sums of their own to maintain institutions and organizations of their own on behalf of their languages and cultures, and for those who are willing to do so within a framework of mutual interaction with American core society and its democratically maintained and developed institutions and processes. Thus, not only is cultural pluralism espoused but cultural bilingualism, rather than merely functional bilingualism *per se*, is focused upon. Non-English languages and non-core cultures are considered to be maintainable and reinforceable primarily within the spheres of American-ethnic family life, within the spheres of the self-defined American-ethnic community, self-defined American ethnic-school and cul-

[9] Joshua A. Fishman, "Planned reinforcement of language maintenance in the United States; suggestions for the conservation of a neglected national resource," in Fishman et al., *Language Loyalty in the United States*, Chapter 21.

[10] D. O. Moberg, "Social differentiation in the Netherlands," *Social Forces*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (May, 1961), pp. 333–337.

tural organization, under the direction of the self-defined American-ethnic teacher, writer, artist and cultural or communal leader. Both language maintenance and ethnicity have become and must remain entirely voluntaristic behaviors in the United States. Their ideological mainsprings must derive from an interpretation of Americanism, American culture and American national well being. However, such behaviors and interpretations are particularly dependent on an encouraging and facilitating environment. It is to recommendations for such encouragement and facilitation, leading to language maintenance for such populations and in such spheres, that we will turn our attention.

3. *Ingredients of a policy of planned reinforcement of language maintenance in the United States.*

a. *Establishing a climate for language maintenance.*

(i) Statements by high public officials to the *general public* that cultural differences, here and now, on an every day as well as on a "high culture" and festive level, are meaningful, desirable and worth strengthening.

(ii) The establishment of a "Commission on Biculturism (or Bilingualism) in American Life" with national, regional, and local subdivisions to publicize bilingualism and mobilize opinion and action in favor of it.

(iii) The establishment of ethnic neighborhoods and settlements as national monuments.

b. *Specific support of language maintenance*

(i) Encouragement of "country of origin-contacts" on the part of naturalized citizens and their families: visits, clubs, courses, publications, language maintenance prizes.

(ii) Encouragement of immigration to the United States by language loyalists, cultural leaders, language teachers, etc., more intelligent immigration policy oriented toward skills rather than toward national origins.

(iv) Financial and other aid to language maintenance organizations and efforts of American ethnic groups: schools, press, radio, theatres, camps, etc.

(v) Public school effort: (a) attraction of native speakers to language teaching, and greater diversification of languages taught; (b) preparation of special teaching materials for the bilingual child; (c) granting of credit for out-of-school language mastery; (d) establishment of bilingual public schools, etc.

(vi) The establishment of a "Department of Language Maintenance" in the United States Office of Education.

4. *Conclusions:* It is odd indeed that a nation that prides itself on "know how," resourcefulness and ingenuity should be so helpless with respect to deepening and strengthening its own inner life. We laugh at the taboos of "backward" peoples and pride ourselves on our own rational procedures. Yet, in the entire area of ethnicity and language maintenance we are constrained by a taboo stronger than those which govern our sexual or racial mores. Sex problems and race issues are discussed in the press, debated in Congress, studied in schools and accorded consideration by foundations. In the area of ethnicity, however, wise men react as children: with denial, with rejection, with repression. If language loyalty and ethnicity had truly ceased to function in major segments of American intellectual and cultural life, if they really evoked no pained or puzzled feelings of responsibilities unmet and sensitivities undeveloped, these topics would receive far more open, more dispassionate, and more imaginative consideration. Fortunately and unfortunately this is not yet the case.

Many American intellectuals reveal particular ambivalence or hostility in connection with discussions, whether at a theoretical or applied level, concerning ethnic or ethno-religious participation in the United States. Many American intellectuals are themselves of second and third generation background. More than most of their countrymen they are likely to have been "liberated," intellectually and overtly, if not emotionally, from the claims and constraints of many primordial ties and biases. As a result, they are more unlikely than most Americans to take kindly to serious consideration of the *values* of ethnic-religious participation, not to mention consideration of ways and means of reinforcing such participation. To the extent that they acknowledge pervasive value commitments beyond those directly related to their own academic specialties these commitments usually take the form of assisting various population groups to gain liberation from constraints

that impede their full participation in higher levels of social-cultural life. However, the particular ethnocentric ingredients of this value commitment usually remain unexamined. Such commitments may well assume the complete relevance of the intellectuals' own experiences and convictions as a goal for their own countrymen and for all of mankind. The very completeness of their own divestment from ethnicity and religion may prompt all-or-none distinctions between primordiality and modernity, between particularism and cosmopolitanism, to the end that reality is severely misconstrued. For most of mankind these distinct guiding forces are in constant and complementary interaction. Indeed, these forces are in a world-wide process of mutual accommodation, each providing benefits and exacting tolls unknown to the other. The problem of ethnically based language maintenance in the United States, or in various other developed or developing nations, is precisely the problem of readjusting an unbalance between these two forces so as to permit all men to benefit more freely, more creatively, and more maturely from each, rather than from only one or the other.

On the basis of data obtained by the Language Resources Project and on the basis of impressions gained in the pursuit and analysis of these data if would seem that there are still good prospects of maintaining or attaining cultural bilingualism among many different carefully selected sub-groups of ethnic background in the United States. It would also seem that these groups can be so selected, over and above their self-selection, and so instructed that the advantages, vis-à-vis bilingual facility, of having an ethnic mother tongue would be considerable in comparison with otherwise matched groups of monolingual English speakers. Thus, the problem is rather less whether or not this *can* be done than it is one of whether or not it *should* be done. In many ways human talents are like other resources: they must be discovered and preserved if they are to be available. However, in other ways, human talents are quite unique; they can be prompted, augmented and *created* by appropriate recognition, training and reward. Within every language group studied there are sub-groups consciously ready, willing and able to benefit from a more favorable "language policy" in the United States. The adoption of such a policy would itself create additional sub-groups of similar capacity, above and beyond those currently discernible.

In her fascinating volume *New Lives for Old*,[11] Margaret Mead points out that Western interest in preserving the "quaint" customs and cultures of primitive peoples has often been no more than a thinly disguised means of excluding these people from independent regulation of their own affairs and from reaping the fruits of their own personal and natural resources. Certainly, every people must have the right to reject its past, to break sharply with its heritage and to adopt a new way of life. However, just as "guided traditionalism" may be a subterfuge for exploitation and the prolongation of backwardness, so "guided acculturation" may be a subterfuge serving exactly the same ulterior purposes. Either approach can be used for the self-aggrandizement of the "powers that be." Neither approach is calculated to develop freedom of choice or creative cultural evolution.

Language maintenance in America does not require, nor would it benefit from, the forced ghettoization of linguistic groups. However, neither will it benefit from the non-productive sentimentality of ethnicity for one day a year, from the instrumentalism of "anti-communist letters to the homeland" to influence elections, or from the pollyanna-like pageantry in which little children sing and dance bedecked in partly mythical and wholly archaic folk costumes. Language maintenance will benefit only from explicit and substantial public recognition of its value and its legitimacy, and from public support for those willing and able to engage in it. The same must be said for ethnicity, with the additional emphasis that without greater recognition for meaningful, evolving ethnicity, there can be no enduring or widespread language maintenance in the United States.

Ethnicity in America is not an all-or-none affair. Nor is it a logical affair. Not is it at all understandable or describable in Old World terms alone. For some it is composed of half forgotten memories, unexplored longings, and intermittent preferences. For others, it is active, structured, elaborated and constant. For

[11] Margaret Mead, *New Lives for Old* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1956).

some it is exclusionary and isolating. For others it is an avenue toward more secure and more authentic participation in general American affairs. For some it is hidden and has negative or conflicted overtones. For others it is open, positive and stimulating. For some it is archaic, unchanging and unalterable. For others it is evolving and creative. For some it is a badge of shame to ignore, forget and eradicate. For others it is a source of pride, a focus of initial loyalties and integrations from which broader loyalties and wider integrations can proceed. Not all modes of ethnicity contribute to language maintenance, but many do. All in all, the variation and variability of ethnicity in America today are largely unknown. This represents a stumbling block to the American sociologist or applied linguist whose approaches to ethnicity are usually far too simple and far too condescending. It represents a major gap in our ability to understand or facilitate language maintenance. Above all else, however, the absence of such knowledge represents an area of self-ignorance for all Americans— philosophers, scholars, and laymen alike. It is certainly high time that we begin to know ourselves, accept ourselves, and shape ourselves in this area just as realistically and just as determinedly as we have tried to do in many other areas in recent years.

"The point about the melting pot is that it did not happen. . . . The fact is that in every generation, throughout the history of the American Republic, the merging of the varying streams of population differentiated from one another by origin, religion, outlook has seemed to lie just ahead—a generation, perhaps, in the future. This continual deferral of the final smelting of the different ingredients . . . suggests that we must search for some systematic and general cause for this American pattern of subnationalities . . . which structures people, whether those coming in afresh or the descendants of those who have been here for generations, into groups of different status and character.[12]

The above observations require only minor extension from the point of view of this presentation, namely, that precisely because they are true, after two centuries of pretence to the contrary, it is high time that the diversity of American existence were recognized and channeled more conscientiously into a creative force, rather than be left as something shameful and to be denied, at worst, or something mysterious and to be patronized, at best. Rethinking our unwritten language policy and our unproclaimed ethnic philosophy in this light may yet bring forth fresh and magnificent fruits.

[12] N. Glazer and P. D. Magnahan, *Beyond the Melting Pot*, Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 290–91.

*A New Focus on the Bilingual Child**

THEODORE ANDERSSON, *University of Texas*

EVERY professional group needs periodically to pause to take stock, to focus anew, and to make a fresh start. I believe that this is an opportune moment for modern-foreign-language teachers to do just this.

To many it will appear that with the passage of the National Defense Education Act in 1958 the teaching of modern languages has just taken such a new direction. This is true. We *have* plotted a new course to follow, but we are still far from having persuaded all—or perhaps even a majority—of our colleagues that the new objectives are better than the old. There are still many language teachers who believe that in stressing understanding and speaking in the early stages of a second-language learning we will inevitably neglect reading and writing and especially the study of literature. Nothing could be farther from the truth. On the contrary, we believe that a sound basis in hearing, understanding, and speaking will assure better achievement in reading and writing, and will permit a more intimate understanding of literature and indeed of other aspects of a foreign culture.

But while our profession still needs to work hard to consolidate the theoretical gains envisaged by the Foreign Language Program of the Modern Language Association of America and by the Congress of the United States in its National Defense Education Act and succeeding legislation, we need to foresee and plan our next advance.

The language laboratory, television, and teaching machine enthusiasts will perhaps envision our next step as a harnessing of these technological devices for the greater efficiency of teaching. I am completely in favor of continuing to study and experiment with these and other devices, which should be made to serve language teachers and learners more efficiently. Programed instruction appeals to me particularly, for two reasons. In order to program material successfully, a teacher needs to observe and test the learners' reaction to the materials, which will have the inevitable effect of improving his teaching. And secondly, self-instruction with the aid of a machine puts the chief responsibility for learning on the student, which is where it belongs.

Important as is the progress represented by the audio-lingual emphasis in language teaching and by the proper ancillary use of the language laboratory, television, and of programed self-instruction, it is rather in another area that we can hope for a more important new advance in language learning. In giving our attention to the bilingual child, we have perceived the importance of solving serious educational problems for those of our children whose first language is not English. It is precisely in this area, I believe, that we have our best chance to score a real educational breakthrough.

Dr. Joshua A. Fishman has estimated in his recently concluded report on *Language Loyalty in the United States*[1] that there were in 1960 some nineteen million native speakers of European languages other than English in the United States, or eleven per cent of our entire population. The figure would be considerably increased if it included speakers of all other languages. We have at a guess speakers of more than fifty different languages, not only the well known European languages such as Italian, spoken, according to the conservative 1960 census figures, by more than three and a half million; Spanish, spoken by nearly three and a half million; German, spoken by over three million; Polish, spoken by over two million; and French, spoken by over one million, but also such languages as Eskimo, in Alaska; Chinese,

* Presented at the Conference for the Teacher of the Bilingual Child, University of Texas, June 9, 1964.

[1] A mimeographed report, in three volumes, to the Language Research Section of the United States Office of Education.

Japanese, Hawaiian, Visayan, Tagolog, and Portuguese, in Hawaii, and more than a dozen American Indian and Asian languages in addition to all the European languages, spoken in the continental United States. It is a matter of national as well as professional interest for us to preserve these languages and to provide their speakers with an education which takes them properly into account. In this vital and complex undertaking modern language teachers have a central role to play; but they need the help of colleagues in the social sciences—linguists, psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists —and in professional education and politics. For, as Joshua Fishman has written, "the preservation and revitalization of America's non-English language resources (even for the purpose of cultural bilingualism) requires, first and foremost, several planned modifications in the goals and processes of American society." (Vol. III, last chapter, p. 12.)

Without dwelling too long on our past and present sins in foreign-language education let us rather select seven "deadly" sins which most urgently need correction and which bilingual education, if well conceived and executed, can help us eliminate.

Let us first try to put behind us the almost useless two-year sequence of foreign-language study in our high schools. Our need of language competence in this shrunken world is surely as great as that of European nations, where foreign languages—and usually more than one —are studied from four to ten years. And in pleading for a six-year high-school sequence of study for a modern foreign language I should like also to plead for a four-year sequence for Greek and/or Latin. The present two-year sequence serves only to guarantee a slow death for the classics, for it fails to provide a reservoir of students from which must be recruited future classics teachers. The classics today are as badly off as were the modern languages in 1930 after the notorious Coleman Report had "settled" for a two-year sequence of study in high school.

The late start made in learning modern languages in school is the second sin which needs to be eliminated. Most pupils begin at the age of fourteen or fifteen, when the human mind is least receptive to this kind of learning. If European children can continue foreign-language study for as much as ten years, it is because they begin at the age of ten to twelve, or even earlier now. Justification for an early start, resting on psychological, neurological, social, political, and economic grounds, is to be found in a report published by the UNESCO Institute for Education in Hamburg in 1963 entitled *Foreign Languages in Primary Education: the Teaching of Foreign or Second Languages to Younger Children.*

The non-existence in many communities of public kindergartens and nursery schools is sin number three. Educational psychologists are so well aware of the sensitiveness of three-, four-, and five-year-old children and therefore of the educational importance of these early years that one is surprised not to hear more frequent protests against this educational waste. These years would be particularly valuable for language learning, for we know that children of this age can, under ideal conditions, absorb as many languages as are spoken in a given environment. The exploratory language class, which was doomed to fail in our junior high schools, belongs here if it belongs anywhere.

Our traditional misconception of language almost exclusively in terms of grammar, reading, writing, and *belles lettres* is the fourth sin crying for elimination. Without for a moment underestimating the value of literacy and literature, teachers who understand the nature of language and the process of language learning believe that the learning of speech should precede that of writing, especially for the young learner; that the learning of usage by direct imitation of authentic models should precede the formal study of grammar; and that literature should be studied not less intensively but in relation to other aspects of a culture.

Our sin number five is our preference to hire John Smith over Juan Suárez for a Spanish-teaching vacancy for which both are otherwise equally well qualified but for which Juan Suárez offers an additional qualification: his authentic Spanish. Just as a student needs an authentic speaker as a model, so he needs as a teacher an authentic, well educated representative of another culture if he is to be imbued by direct experience with some intimate under-

standing of this culture. We should therefore reserve on our teaching staffs a larger place for well qualified native-speaking teachers of foreign languages. In Texas, where Spanish is widely taught in the schools—though not extensively enough—and where at least one Texan out of seven speaks Spanish natively, only about one out of four teachers of Spanish is a native speaker of Spanish. One out of two would be a better ratio to aim at immediately. I know of one high school in a non-Spanish-speaking area which has reached the ratio of two out of three to the satisfaction of all concerned.

Our inflexible, credit-counting education of teachers constitutes a sixth sin. Certification should be no substitute for qualification, especially now that we have the Modern Language Association Foreign Language Proficiency Tests for Teachers and Advanced Students to help us measure proficiency as objectively as possible.

Coming a little closer to home, we must confess to our seventh education sin: our failure to encourage our Spanish-speaking children to speak Spanish, as we commonly do in school and on the playground, and our failure to respect the great Hispanic culture of which our Spanish speakers are modest representatives. This is part of an unthinking, inconsiderate, and self-defeating national policy to destroy non-English languages and cultures in the United States—whether French, German, and Spanish or Eskimo, Navaho, and Hawaiian. While paying generous lip service to respect for individual differences, we have to the present made little effort even to understand the special needs of our non-English-speaking citizens. In this connection let me call to your attention an unpublished paper by my colleague, Dr. Mildred Boyer, on the subject of "Individual Differences and the War on Poverty,"[1] which is calculated to deepen our understanding of this problem. We show our disregard for other languages by not learning them. We tend to equate Hispanic culture, for example, with the under developed, disadvantaged standard of living of Spanish speakers among us without taking thought as to what is responsible for this depressed living standard. It is the culmination of irony that where Spanish-speaking children are at an age that would make it easy and relatively inexpensive to help them to maintain and improve their language we do all we can to destroy it. And when we do find that we need adult citizens in great numbers who can understand and speak Spanish or other languages, we must through legislation repair at great cost the damage we have thoughtlessly done.

To rehearse our principal shortcomings in language education, especially as it relates to Spanish-speaking children, is already to point the way to needed reform. Fortunately we have the benefit of the knowledge and experience of many individuals: psychologists, sociologists, language educators, professional educators, educational administrators, and others. It is easy for a college professor while standing comfortably aloof from the fray to discourse on what should be done. The practical educators must restore a balance and bring us back to a sense of reality as needed.

At the risk of occasionally offending this sense of reality, let me in conclusion sketch a course of action which theory suggests would be appropriate at least in Texas and perhaps in other parts of the Southwest, and also to any other educational system which enrolls in substantial numbers children whose first language is not English. Later discussion and experimentation will reveal whether the theory of my rough plan is sound and whether it can stand the test of experimentation in a variety of real situations.

Since both theory and previous experiments, described, for example, in the UNESCO publication, *The Use of the Vernacular Languages in Education*, suggest the rightness and the effectiveness of using a child's mother tongue to begin his formal schooling, I suggest that it is most logical that Spanish-speaking children and their parents be oriented for school and be greeted in school by teachers who speak Spanish natively. Instruction should be done in Spanish and in English in such proportion as to build the child's sense of security. For the child whose experience has been exclusively or nearly exclusively in Spanish and who therefore understands and speaks Spanish within the limits of his experience, the teacher's first educational objectives should be to expand the pupil's ex-

[1] Forthcoming in *Educational Forum* under a modified title.

perience in order to increase his mastery of spoken Spanish and to begin, when he is ready, to teach the elements of reading and writing in Spanish. A reasonable period of time every day throughout the whole period of schooling should be reserved for Spanish so that the child may steadily increase his control of oral comprehension, speaking, reading, writing, and grammar, as well as an understanding of the literature and culture of his heritage. The ultimate objective would be thorough literacy in Spanish, as well as in English, the development of a sense of pride in identifying with Hispanic culture, and an active desire to maintain and cultivate the Spanish language and culture, while at the same time cultivating skill and pride in American speech and culture.

Since at the outset the average Spanish-speaking child will know little or no English, he should be introduced very gradually into English with great care not to destroy his security and confidence.

Those who have seen adult college students despair because they cannot with their deficient knowledge of English penetrate the barriers of intellectual and even physical isolation can well realize the terror which must beset a small child entering upon his first schooling without even the warming comfort of an understanding and affectionate word in a language which previously served him thus.

There need be no apprehension concerning his ultimate capacity to speak English. The main medium of instruction in most schools will be English, so that the Spanish-speaking child will normally have ample opportunity to hear and, when ready, to speak English. How long he will require to develop a readiness for reading and writing in English will have to be determined experimentally. However, as soon as he is ready, perhaps in the second grade, he should begin and thereafter receive steadily increased instruction and opportunity to practice.

The development in each language should be sequential and properly paced and should proceed in such a way that each reinforces the other. Theoretically the best results may be expected in schools having approximately equal numbers of English and Spanish speakers. English-speaking pupils can learn to understand and speak Spanish while the Spanish speakers learn to understand and speak English. In this situation the children will teach each other informally but perhaps even more effectively than can the teachers.

Since such a language program should have for its goal not only to teach English as a second language to Spanish speakers and Spanish as a second—hopefully no longer a foreign—language to English speakers, but also to safeguard our children's mental health and to correct popular misconceptions concerning the nature of language, the process of language learning, and the nature and content of culture, the parents and indeed the whole community would need to be brought into the program. In this somewhat new extension of the usual educational process language teachers and educational administrators will need the help or social scientists and even public relations specialists. Educators cannot afford in an operation of this kind to leave the community in ignorance of what is happening lest the old misconceptions, prejudices, or lethargy destroy our efforts.

Clearly, in all this the language teacher plays a central though only a partial role. For this reason it is urgent that teacher education institutions undertake at the earliest to recruit and prepare teachers with the necessary wisdom, personality, knowledge, and skill to carry out such a program. Such teacher candidates, who may already understand and speak Spanish competently, should not be delayed by being forced into a lock-step program of teacher preparation. Following the *Standards for Teacher-Education Programs in Modern Foreign Languages* recently issued by the Modern Language Association as the result of a conference at its administrative offices in New York on December 13, 1963, the most promising teachers or teacher candidates should be sought out and prepared in a flexible, almost individual, program and licensed to teach at the earliest possible moment on the basis of demonstrated proficiency, however acquired. Such a pilot program is in its initial stage at The University of Texas under the direction of Dr. Joseph Michel.

These then, in conclusion, are the possibilities facing educators in bilingual areas. We have really been discussing two subjects. First

we need to correct our present miseducation of Spanish speakers in the South and Southwest; and secondly, once we have learned how to manage the language education of bilinguals, we need to apply the same principles to language education in general. A new focus on the bilingual child could well serve to trigger an important revolution in American education.

*The Acculturation of the Bilingual Child**

CHESTER C. CHRISTIAN, JR., *Texas Western College*

IN CONSIDERING the acculturation of the bilingual child, we should bear in mind that he almost invariably begins by being a monolingual child, and as such offers us no more special problems than any so-called "normal" child. He learns the language of his parents and becomes a member of their culture just as all children do. The special problems to be considered are those created when this first language and culture are supplemented or even replaced by a second language and culture which are imposed upon him by the larger society. His parents require him to go through the first process, and the school system requires him to go through the second. He is not at liberty to refuse to do either. When he's one year old, he doesn't tell his parents, "No, I won't speak your language. It's better for me to begin learning English immediately." And when he's six years old, he doesn't tell his teacher, "No, I'm not going to speak English. I already get along quite well in my own language, thank you." By birth, he must speak the language of his parents, because he has to communicate with them. By law, he must speak English, for he has to spend at least ten years of his life in a school system in which English is the only medium of instruction. To the extent that he suffers as a result of the concomitant pressures put on him, he is a victim of this social situation into which he has been born. He himself has done nothing to create it, he doesn't understand it, and we should have no cause for surprise when he reacts against his parents or his teachers or both. Since he is not able to function effectively within either culture so long as he feels that it is imposed upon him, it seems desirable to attempt to work out a solution of his problems not only for his benefit, but to enable him to contribute to the maintenance of our society and the development of our culture.

In attempting to do this, the fact has often been ignored that to human beings born into any language and culture, that language and culture represent their own existence as human beings—their own particular way of being human—and that taking this away from them is in a very real sense an attempt to take away their lives—an attempt to destroy what they are and to make of them a different kind of being. This is true even when they are willing to assist in this process of destruction.

In the first six years of his life, the child undergoes a process of acculturation which imprints its effects much more indelibly than any other process he will go through in the remainder of his life. Through the learning and use of the language of his parents, he learns not only to obtain certain fundamental satisfactions, such as those of sustenance and human response, but he learns to organize and give meaning to all that he perceives through his senses. He may even say without exaggeration that it is through this process that the child becomes a human being. He does not become a person except by becoming a certain kind of person, and the kind of person he becomes—even the nature of what he perceives—is dependent upon the words he uses and the meanings which have been given to them by the culture of which he is a part. In the words of a contemporary Spanish writer, the child comes to "think the world by means of the word." And that world which comes to exist in his mind is a reflection of the language he speaks and of the culture it repre-

* Presented at the Conference for the Teacher of the Bilingual Child, University of Texas, June 8-10, 1964.

sents; it is a world bequeathed to him by a particular historical process of which he is the most recent product, it is the most meaningful heritage that his parents can give him. It will come to represent to him not only the essential nature of human life, but his own existence as an individual. One might easily predict that it will not be easy to do away with it. He may be made ashamed of it and may even learn to despise it, but it will remain with him for the rest of his life.

The meanings which have been given to him in one culture do not exist in other cultures, and therefore cannot be replaced. It is a fallacy, for example, to assume that there is an English equivalent for the Spanish word *mamá*—or that there is a Spanish equivalent for the English word *mama*. These and hundreds of other words which give to the child his existence in terms of his relation to others and to the world occur in cultural contexts which do not coincide. And teachers who do not know these meanings usually find the response of the pupil who knows no others baffling, annoying, and exasperating. Then, when the child begins to discover that the teacher does not understand, he develops negative reactions not only to the teacher but to the educational process, and finally to the entire culture and language which the teacher represents. Or conversely, he may decide that his parents have provided him with an inferior world, and subsequently attempt to reject entirely what they have provided for him as a cultural base upon which to build a meaningful life. This may mean that the life he chooses will lack the essential meanings which have their roots in infancy, roots which are nourished by the words his parents have taught him.

It is a personal tragedy, and there is much evidence to indicate that it is a social tragedy, when an adult resents and even despises the language and culture of his childhood. Bossard and Boll, in their study of the sociology of child development, tell of cases in which children avoid meeting their parents in public because they were unable to speak English with them. "The child who rejects the parental language rejects, as it were, the parent who speaks it."[1]

When the social scientist speaks of acculturation, he usually refers to a process of mutual influence of two cultures which are in contact. Practically speaking, however, we generally imply a process of changing emphasis and changing loyalties from one language and culture to another, and more specifically, the change in language and culture of a conquered group to that of the conqueror. This is often said to be necessary to promote uniformity. But, as the anthropologist Kroeber has remarked, "Much modern acculturation of minorities is directed by the majority culture, and their assimilation is consciously furthered as something desirable. Uniformity has a way of commending itself to majorities."[2]

In view of what we can learn from human history, this is not at all surprising. The conquered have always had to learn the language of the conqueror in order to gain advantage from him. The conqueror has never been able to afford to pass through the somewhat ridiculous stage of floundering in the language—and culture—of those he has conquered. It might not only damage his prestige, but once peaceful and stable relations were established it might allow those he has conquered to compete quite successfully with him.

We in the United States have had what looks on the surface like quite another philosophy of acculturation. The popular idea of the "melting pot" is that all cultures in the United States should fuse to become our one great common culture. But this does not seem to be what has happened. What seems to have happened is that people from many cultures have come here looking for what their own countries have not offered them, and they have been willing to give up much of their culture for the sake of expedience in getting what they want. Many of them have not realized what they have given up until they have seen how far the children are willing to carry the process the parents have begun. Expediency has begotten expediency, until we have developed a culture which has been one of great practical success, which has made possible the dehumanization which urban industrial life requires to operate at its greatest efficiency, one in which the person identifies

[1] James Herbert Siward Bossard and Eleanor Stoker Boll, *Sociology of Child Development*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960, 3rd edition, p. 272.

[2] Alfred L. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., Inc., 1947, p. 434.

himself with the function he is performing in society—with the job at hand—rather than with his historical, cultural, and linguistic antecedents. The negation of traditional cultural forms has allowed their replacement by cultural forms adapted to the immediate technological situation. This has undoubtedly been an important factor contributing to our unequalled material success, but it has left us with few roots. It has left us with an existence which, from the point of view of other cultures, often seems shallow, crass, and provincial.

Paradoxically enough, however, our material success has been so great that we seem to be turning toward non-material goals in our culture as a luxury we can now afford. We are living the abundant life as no other nation in the history of mankind has ever lived it, but many of us are unable to enjoy this wealth fully as long as we feel that some are not sharing it. We are taking a broader view of the nature of the abundant life. We are even coming to the conclusion that other cultures than that which dominates here may have an intrinsic and irreplaceable value.

Not long ago our government was so insistent that the Indians become acculturated that whenever possible they separated the children from the influence of their parents by putting them into boarding schools and not allowing them to speak the language they had learned at home. This experiment was not successful, but if we had been able to take the children from their parents as soon as they were born, it probably would have been. However, this type of acculturation is no longer felt to be desirable; and at present some Indian groups are now encouraged to retain their language and learn through it about their own culture—that is, the culture of their parents. In some federally sponsored schools, they are even taught in their native language, and in terms of their own background learn English and are introduced to Anglo-American culture. Dr. James Officer, Associate Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in a report to the Tucson Conference on Teaching English as a Foreign Language (May, 1964), indicated that this appears to be a much more satisfactory solution of the problem of acculturation than any previously tried. The pupil seems more secure, the parents less resentful, and the result is a greater benefit to society.

Some of the conclusions which were derived from a conference called in November, 1963, by the then Vice President of the United States Lyndon B. Johnson, as Chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, also show the new direction the government is taking with respect to the acculturation of minorities in the United States. It was decided at this meeting that the schools should capitalize on the bi-cultural situation in the Southwest rather than ignore it or even attempt to stamp it out. It was felt desirable to erase the "reigning Anglo" stereotype, to recognize the value of the Mexican cultural heritage, and to show the Mexican-American why he should be proud of his cultural background and recognize himself as capable of offering something extra to the culture at large. At that conference Anthony J. Celebrezze, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, was moderator of a discussion group in which it was decided that "schools must provide acculturation for Mexican-American children through bilingual instruction in Spanish and English, and must make use of the curriculum to reflect Spanish as well as American traditions, and should hire teachers trained in both cultures. Only through such a modified educational program can the Mexican-American child be given the sense of personal identification which is necessary to his educational maturation."[3] It was also suggested that schools employ bilingual counselors who would go into the homes of bilingual children to discuss the educational and personal problems of the children in terms which the parents can understand.

Heretofore, the problem of the acculturation of the bilingual child has been considered largely a local problem. It has recently become a problem of national concern largely because of its intimate relationship to other national programs—with the civil rights program, the war on poverty, the attempt to establish equal economic opportunity for everyone, to adjust to automation and to the disappearance of jobs except for the educated, and to the betterment of our image abroad. New methods of dealing

[3] Quoted from the oral summary of the conference proceedings read by John W. Macy, Jr., Chairman, United States Civil Service Commission.

with the problem have not come about as a result of a sudden impulse or sudden illumination on the part of our social and political leaders. They have been suggested as a result of the consideration of present-day necessities in the light of past trial and error. It has been found that neither ignoring cultural differences nor attempting to do away forcibly with minority languages and cultures has been successful in developing the personal and social potentialities of the bilingual child.

There is also a new attitude in a nation which has in the past few years become more secure in itself, more expansive, and more understanding of other peoples. This new attitude is well expressed by Morris Raphael Cohen in his autobiography: "I have never been able to share the views of my fellow citizens who look upon the very existence of a foreign press as a sort of treason, who would make the speaking or writing of a foreign language a crime. These people are doubtlessly influenced by patriotic motives, but their conception of Americanism is too narrow and unworthy of the great tradition of American liberalism. The patriotism of these people is a narrow nationalism copied from, or in imitation of, European nationalism. The American tradition is federalism, which allows for diversity instead of dull uniformity. The very name 'United States' and our motto, 'E Pluribus Unum' express this."[8]

This paragraph is particularly important in that it was quoted by the Hearing Examiner for the Federal Communications Commission as a part of a decision made last year to give a permit to an English language rather than a Spanish language radio station to broadcast from a city in Texas.[9] The decision clearly shows the period of transition through which we are going. The technical basis of its being in favor of the English language station was the existence of a public policy in Texas expressed in the laws stating that all teaching in public schools in Texas must be in English, and that all children between the ages of 7 and 16 must attend public schools unless they attend a private or parochial school in which classes must be taught in English. The Hearing Examiner stated that this law is itself based upon the fact that it seems desirable to promote what he termed "mutual understanding" in the United States, and he thought that such understanding requires the greatest possible use of English.

The Hearing Examiner, however, qualified this decision by a statement which points in a direction our government as a whole seems to be taking. He stated that he might have lessened the emphasis on this public school law of Texas if those who requested the Spanish language station had focused more on the Spanish-speaking community as a culture group, giving evidence that it is a vigorous cultural unit, and "indicating that an all-Spanish radio station would have contributed substantially to its growth as an admirable factor in a nation which appreciates cultural diversity." He said, however, that the testimony in favor of the Spanish language station "scarcely mentioned, if at all (as one possibility) any artistic stirrings within the group which would leaven the picture, inevitable on the basis of this record, of a deprived, submerged people."

The fact that such communities in our Southwest are so often composed of "deprived, submerged people" may well be due to the fact that our educational system does not allow their children to build upon the linguistic and cultural system which has been provided for them by their parents. This condition might be rectified by the introduction of a process of acculturation which would conform to the definition given by social scientists: the mutual influence of cultures in contact. We would modify the educational system so that the pupil may develop as far as possible in each of the two cultures represented by the languages he speaks. This might become a process in which knowledge and sensitivity obtained in one culture could develop even further than it otherwise would as a result of insights obtained through the other culture. This would seem much preferable to the blocking of development in each culture because of the limitations one has in the

[8] Morris Rafael Cohen, *A Dreamer's Journey*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1949, p. 220.

[9] Initial Decision, FCC 63D-46, by Hearing Examiner Herbert Sherman, April 19, 1963, re: Applications of J. R. Earnest and John A. Fiorito, c/b as *La Fiesta Broadcasting Company* (Docket No. 14411, File No. BP-14116) and *Mid-Cities Broadcasting Corporation* (Docket No. 14412, File No. BP-15073), both of Lubbock, Texas.

other—which is the situation of several million United States citizens at the present time.

We often fail to realize that those who speak a language other than English are thereby psychologically and culturally prepared to enter a realm of thought, feeling, imagination which is different from that available to them in English, but which is not therefore less important to their development. Among the Spanish-speaking, for example, this preparation might enable them to enter this world through the works of Cervantes in a much more real and intimate sense than they will ever be able to do through the works of Shakespeare. Since it is this world which releases the creative potentialities of our men and women of genius, it may be that by cutting off their development toward entry into it by any door other than English, we are destroying whatever significant contributions to it that a bilingual child might potentially make.

It is sometimes said that physicians have an advantage over members of other professions in that they can bury their mistakes. We might say that we teachers, however, have an even greater advantage in that our mistakes will usually bury themselves. Our successes flower into visibility, becoming those we take into account as individuals; our failures, on the other hand, simply dissolve into that great mass of human society whose members are recognized on a statistical rather than an individual basis. Too often throughout the Southwest our successes have been John and Mary; and our failures have been Juan and María.

The triumph of the individual in any culture is always the triumph of education; and when a significant part of that education is acquired in school, we in the teaching profession can justifiably be proud. The failure of the individual may be due to his own weakness, the weakness of the educational system, or to the inappropriateness of the culture which might offer him success, and therefore its educational system, to the fulfillment of potentialities which he might offer.

We should not forget that one of the major aspects of our role as educators is the transmission of the culture of which we are a part. Often our limitations are due to the fact that we think of this role in terms of the transmission of certain specialized aspects of this culture which we have acquired through great effort and patience, and regard these aspects as unquestionably universal. We fail to realize that these specialized aspects of a culture have no meaning apart from the value system, social system, and communications system which makes them transmissible.

That these systems are different in different cultures means that there are complications in the educational process where there is an attempt to superimpose meanings from one culture onto another. They may even occur within a culture. For example, when I was a pupil in an East Texas school, I once asked my algebra teacher, "What is algebra good for?" She answered, "I think that engineers use it." For years the image stayed with me of the operator of a locomotive working algebra problems as he whistled down the track. The answer we give our bilingual pupils is often as meaningless to them as that one was to me.

The pressure to do something about the acculturation of our bilingual children has come as a result of their failure to take what we regard as their place in our society because of the incredibly increasing demands for education which our civilization makes, and because so many of them lack this education. To provide it for them will not be a simple matter. In our present world, education can no longer be regarded as simply a technique by which the pupil is prepared for one of a known set of roles which he is to play in our culture. Automation is developing so rapidly that if this is our concept of education, we teachers will soon be replaced by machines, joining our bilingual pupils among the technologically unemployed.

The best teachers are not technicians; they are artists. They understand the subject in the deepest sense. They know the possibilities and the limitations of the media which will best present this subject to the world, and they create works of art which are appropriate to any place or time. Before it is completed, the teacher does not know what the product of his labor will be like, just as the artist does not know what his painting will be like until it is done. The painting may be worthless or it may be priceless; we do know that if he has a numbered canvas and puts the correct colors in the corresponding numbers, the result will be worthless.

The possibilities of bilingualism in our country have not yet been explored. In order to educate the bilingual child successfully, we need to know more than we know at present. Yet this moment of our history demands that we educate him successfully while in the process of learning how to do so. We need to educate him for a world with which we are not acquainted—the intellectually and emotionally expanding world of the future. We tend to try to educate people for the world in which we have lived; this is why education always lags behind art, literature, science, and even technology. Our most creative geniuses in the arts and the sciences have usually been a generation or more ahead of our societies as a whole; our educational systems are usually a generation or more behind. We can no longer afford this situation. We need more creative genius in education, and I do not believe that there is any area in which such genius could more likely create miracles than in the field of the education of the bilingual child. With imagination, ideas, and a willingness to act upon our best hunches, we may be able to deepen and strengthen our entire cultural heritage.

*Teaching the Bilingual Child: Research, Development, and Policy**

A. BRUCE GAARDER, *United States Office of Education*

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WE DO not need to observe the careers of such brilliant men as Julian Green, Salvador de Madariaga, and Joseph Conrad to know that bilingualism can be an invaluable intellectual and social asset. Innumerable cases attest to this truism. Nor do we need to observe many bi-illiterate speakers of two languages to know that in some cases bilingualism correlates negatively with a full measure of personal development. This paper assumes that whether the bilingualism of a child is to be a strong asset or a negative factor in his life depends on the education he receives in both languages.[1] The child in this case is the native-born American youngster whose mother tongue is not English. The concern is for both that mother tongue and English. Since it has been our public school tradition either to ignore that mother tongue or to discourage its use, this paper is concerned chiefly with research efforts designed to strengthen and maintain it, on the further assumption that strengthening and maintaining the mother tongue will contribute powerfully

* A workpaper presented at the Conference for the Teacher of the Bilingual Child, University of Texas, June 10, 1964.

[1] A. Anastasi, and F. Cordova, "Some Effects of Bilingualism upon Intelligence Test Performance of Puerto Rican Children in New York City." *Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (January, 1953). These researchers reached the typical conclusion: "Whether or not bilingualism constitutes a handicap, as well as the extent of such a handicap, depends upon the way in which the two languages have been learned. . . ." p. 3.

and directly to the development of the personality and intellect and in turn increase the student's ability to learn English and through English.

On these assumptions the most important issue is unmistakable: At what age, by what means, to what degree, and in what relationship to his studies in English, should the child achieve literacy in his mother tongue?

An international "Committee of Experts" convened by UNESCO in 1951 to discuss the use of vernacular languages in education declared that "It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue."[2] The committee included in its report a world-wide survey showing that it is indeed generally conceded that every child should begin his formal education in his mother tongue. Nevertheless, educational practice in the United States supports the "ethnocentric illusion" that for a child born in this country English is not a foreign language, and virtually all instruction in schools is through the medium of English. It would seem, therefore, that among the research projects most needed is a series of classroom-based studies to test as a hypothesis that statement which the rest of the world considers axiomatic.

1.0 *Classroom-based research*

This research would be undertaken simultaneously in a number of situations, described typically below, and with the conditions approaching those noted in each case.

1.1 *Basic plan for bilinguals*

In actual practice, there are anomalies in the foreign language development policies in American education which approach the fraudulent. One of these is the situation in the American high school which results, for example, in the bilingual French-English speaking child's making the lowest grade in the French class. This anomaly, a commonplace whether in French or Spanish or German, is easy to explain if not to justify: the teacher has only a smattering competence in the foreign language and her attempts to communicate in it embarrass both herself and the native speakers in her class. I have heard teachers explain this inability to communicate with Mexican-American pupils in New Mexico by saying that the Spanish they taught and spoke was "Castilian." In addition the teacher is using a book and methods geared exclusively to the supposed needs of the monolingual majority of the class. Consequently, the bilingual students, who in most cases have more "knowledge" and mastery of the tongue than the teacher or the classmates will ever have, sit confused, neglected, and too often conclude that there is something wrong with the language they speak and with themselves for speaking it.

The same anomaly pervades the thing called FLES and every other level of language teaching: the Federal Government encourages a multi-million-dollar expenditure annually for language development (in both the "common" and the "neglected" languages)[3] but no part of the effort is directed specifically to the further development of those same languages in the more than one in ten Americans who already have a measure of native competence in them. Rather our generally unformulated, national policy is at best to ignore, at worst to stamp out, the native competence while at the same

[2] *The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education* (Monographs on Fundamental Education—VIII) UNESCO, Paris, 1953, p. 11.

Other studies of particular interest in this regard and basic to the topic of this paper are:

Pedro A. Cebollero, *A School Language Policy for Puerto Rico*. Superior Educational Council of Puerto Rico. Educational Publications Series II, No. 1, 1945.

Einar Haugen, *Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide*. American Dialect Society Publication, No. 26. University of Alabama Press, 1956.

H. H. Stern, (ed.) *Foreign Languages in Primary Education: The Teaching of Foreign or Second Languages to Younger Children*. (Report on an International Meeting of Experts, 9–14 April, 1962, International Studies in Education, UNESCO Institute for Education, Hamburg, 1963.) Contains a chapter "Research problems concerning the teaching of foreign or second languages to younger children" by John B. Carroll.

Uriel Weinreich, *Languages in contact, findings and problems*. New York: Publication of the Linguistic Circle of New York, No. 1, 1953; also The Hague: Moulton and Co., 1963.

[3] Report on the National Defense Education Act—Fiscal Years 1961 and 1962, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education publication OE-10004-62, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1963.

time undertaking the miracle of creating something like it in our monolinguals.[4]

Development, rather than research, is called for here: application of long-known methods in many and varied experimental settings at every level, K to 16, to make each student's bilingualism all that it can be. Specifically, the experimentation here recommended focuses exclusively on the development of a high level of literacy in the non-English mother tongue (N-EMT). This is not "foreign language" or "second language" study as these are traditionally conceived and organized and does not involve monolingual speakers of English except as noted in item 5 below. In brief, each "experiment" is simply the provision of at least one class daily in mother tongue study and study through the mother tongue for all N-EMT students.

Some specific suggestions are in order, to help avoid the worst of the mistakes that mar experimentation of this kind.

1. The teacher should be a vigorous literate native speaker of the standard variant and, if possible, of the student's variant of the language. For work at the upper elementary school level and above, the teacher should have learned *through the medium of the N-EMT* the subject matter to be taught. His competence could be determined and his certification based on the results of proficiency tests such as those the Modern Language Association has prepared for the five common languages. Pennsylvania and New York have already used these tests for this purpose. For languages lacking such standardized tests, examination of teacher candidates could be by examining committees.

2. The N-EMT pupils would for the most part follow the normal curriculum in English. Their schedules would be adjusted, however, to provide at least one period daily in the N-EMT.

3. The N-EMT would be the exclusive medium of instruction in all N-EMT classes. From the beginning, instruction would be focused on the language per se only a minimum part of the time. The major emphasis would always be on the regular subjects of the curriculum, mathematics, science, the social studies, etc., learned through the medium of the non-English language.

4. Only native "speakers" of the non-English language would be admitted to these classes, with the single exception noted in item 6 below. The minimum requirement for classification as a native "speaker" would be sufficient proficiency in listening comprehension to understand normal conversation and simple explanations.

5. Given the widely varying background of such native speakers, there might be need for a pre-test for placement purposes. Such a test for speakers of Spanish has been developed by the public schools of Albuquerque, New Mexico.

6. At the high school level monolingual students who are learning the same second language could be admitted to these classes of native speakers as a special honor if they demonstrate unusual aptitude for such learning.

7. When administratively possible, double academic credit should be granted: for the foreign language study per se, and for the work in the subject field taught through the foreign language. For example, a class in geography studied in Polish could earn credit in Polish and in geography.

8. One class period daily would suffice for this instruction. Experimentation could be directed to the question of whether three weekly periods would be enough to develop a high enough level of literacy.

9. Experimentation of this kind could begin without loss at any academic level, with any number of students from 2 to 35 in a class. If the number of non-English mother tongue speakers in a school is quite small, the children may well be grouped on levels of competence without too much regard for grade level. Thus, pupils in grades 1, 2, and 3 could be together, or those in 3, 4, and 5, or those in 4, 5, and 6.

10. The section in this paper on *Contrastive analyses—teaching materials* is pertinent here.

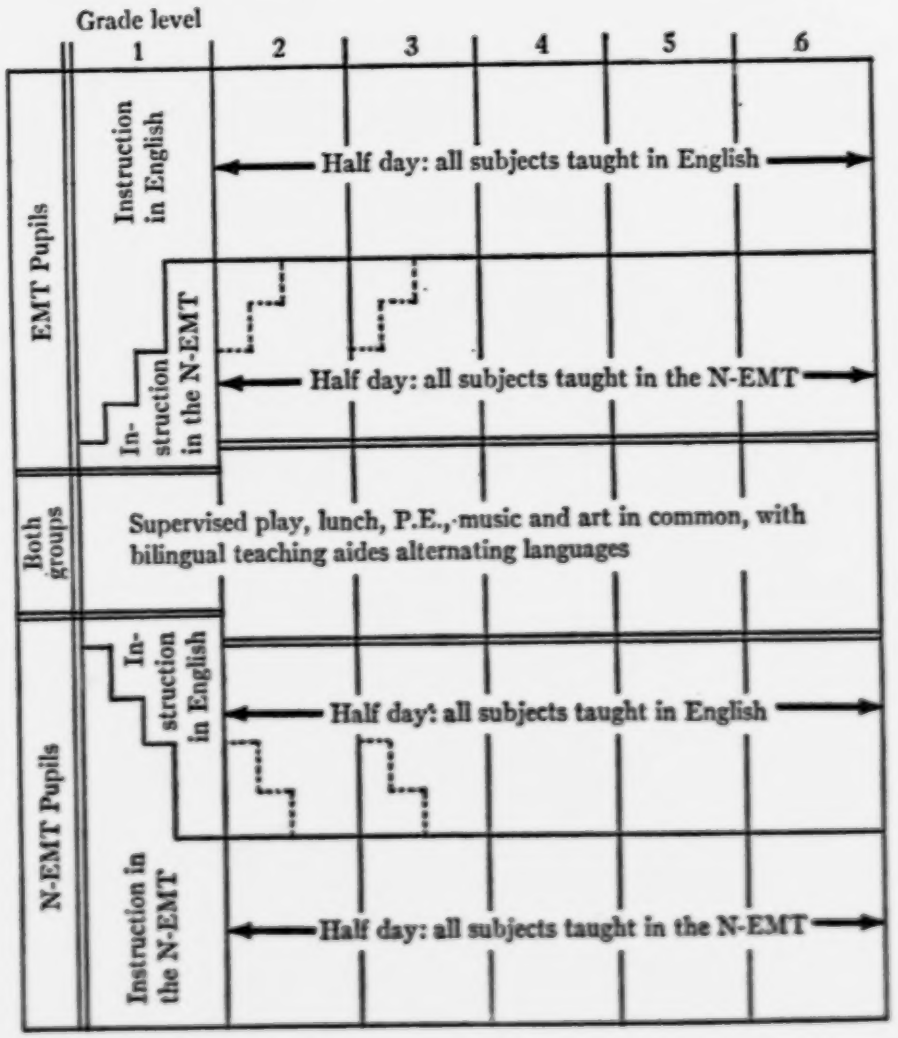
[4] See the introductory statement, Title I, Sec. 101 of the NDEA "Findings and Declaration of Policy": "The Congress hereby finds and declares that the security of the Nation requires the fullest development of the mental resources and technical skills of its young men and women. . . . This requires programs that will . . . correct . . . the existing imbalances in our educational programs which have led to an insufficient proportion of our population educated in . . . modern foreign languages. . . ."

Particularly important is the emphasis on learning through the language rather than concentrating solely on the language itself.

1.1 Basic to the two-language development program under discussion is the need to reinforce the non-English ethnic group's self-image as speakers of their native language. Irrespective of the extent to which their speech deviates from "cultivated standard"—and in some cases there may be virtually no deviation—they are likely to regard their language as somehow inferior, unsuited for use in one or more domains strongly dominated by the official language, and themselves as weakly representative speakers of the tongue. Here the concept of linguistic relativity, sometimes exaggeratedly espoused by descriptive linguistics, should be strongly emphasized. Whatever the speaker's dialect and idiolect it should not be suggested that he is to give it up and thereafter speak and write in another, different, "better" way. (Common observation shows that he will never forget it and will be able to return to it at will throughout his life.) Rather he is to learn *another*, a third language or language style which will be more appropriate and effective in other situations in which he might aspire to take part.

1.2 *Basic plans for bilingual schools*

The program set forth on the accompanying chart is most applicable in schools where at least half of the pupils at all elementary grade levels are N-EMT speakers. It is meant to develop bilingualism in both English mother tongue (EMT) and N-EMT pupils. It is modeled closely on the Coral Way elementary School bilingual program established in 1963 with Ford Foundation support in Dade County, Florida. The director of the Ford Foundation Project is Dr. Pauline M. Rojas.



1.21 Bilingual school for both EMT and N-EMT pupils

Solid lines show program in full operation after the first year. Dotted lines show staging in grades 2 and 3 during first year of program.

Except for the bilingual aide work the EMT and N-EMT groups are not combined until each group has developed sufficient competence in its second language. This point should be reached by the 4th grade in the second year of the program. Those pupils who enter the program in grade 1 are expected to reach sufficient competence in the second language to be mixed to some extent in grade 2 and for almost all work in grade 3 and thereafter.

Note: The stepped lines which represent the staging in grades 1, 2, and 3 are merely suggestive of the time allotments rather than exactly proportionate to them.

1.22 *Variant plan*

First grade	*Second grade*	*Third grade*
Oral English—English reading, with grouping by ability—English writing Oral Spanish—Spanish reading with grouping by ability—Spanish writing Mathematics in English Art in English	Oral English—English reading—English writing Oral Spanish—Spanish reading—Spanish writing Mathematics in English Art in English	Oral social studies in English—English reading—English writing Oral social studies in Spanish—Spanish reading—Spanish writing Mathematics in English Science (oral) in English (demonstrations)
Fourth grade	*Fifth grade*	*Sixth grade*
Social studies in English with readings—English reading—English writing Social studies in Spanish, with readings—Spanish reading—Spanish writing Mathematics in English—Science in English with reading & writing	Social studies in English with reading and writing—English reading—English writing Social studies in Spanish with reading & writing—Spanish reading Mathematics in English—Science in English with reading & writing	Same as for Fifth grade

Each language group should be at least one-third of the total group at each elementary grade level. All pupils are together at all times except for ability grouping in grade 1. Teaching in Spanish approximately one-third of the day by highly literate, trained native speaking teacher; in English two-thirds of the day by a *different* person of same qualifications. Playground supervision alternating every other day in the two languages.

Points to be borne in mind:

1. All teachers responsible for a second language *as a subject* should be trained as second language teachers.
2. All other teaching is done by normal elementary school teaching methods.
3. Is the N-EMT group as proficient in the use of English and in other learnings as a comparable group which received no instruction in the mother tongue?
4. Is the EMT group as proficient in the use of English and in other learnings as a comparable group which received no instruction in a second language?[5]
5. The non-English language instructors should be highly literate in that language and should have studied in that language the subjects they are to teach through it.
6. It seems reasonable to suppose that the best reading (or listening or discussion) material for any child is that "which touches his own life experience so that he can see his experience in symbol form and identify himself in and with it. That is the reason many teachers or beginners prefer to begin the teaching of reading with simple experience stories composed by the children."[6]

1.3 *Variables affecting language learning*

In Montevideo, Uruguay, there have long been K-6 second-language schools. Crandon Institute is a specific example. The case is cited from personal observation by Miss Elizabeth Keesee, Specialist for Foreign Languages, United States Office of Education. These schools have the following characteristics:

a) All instruction is (for example) in English at all levels.

[5] Walter B. Leino, and Louis A. Haak. *The Teaching of Spanish in the Elementary Schools and the Effects on Achievement in Other Selected Subject Areas*. St. Paul Public Schools, St. Paul, 1963. The researchers found that taking time from the arithmetic, language, and social studies periods in order to introduce 15 minutes daily instruction in Spanish had no detrimental effect upon pupil achievement in those three subject areas. The study was conducted for three years in the elementary schools of St. Paul.

[6] Ruth G. Strickland, "The interrelationship between language and reading." *The Volta Review*, Vol. 60, No. 7 (September 1958), pp. 334–336.

b) Classes of about 30 students under the charge of a single teacher.
c) All playground and out-of-class speech in Spanish. (Virtually all students are native speakers of Spanish or prefer that tongue.)
d) Parents and students highly disposed to foreign language learning.
e) Most students from upper or upper-middle socio-economic class.
f) All teachers natively competent in the school language and well trained for their work.
g) Production of highly literate, native-like use of English in all students.

There are similar schools in Texas where all or virtually all of the pupils are native speakers of Spanish and where English is the sole medium of instruction. The analogy with the Montevideo situation weakens at items *d, e, and f,* which, it may be reasonably hypothesized, contributed much to the achievement of item g. These three variables should be investigated, with the object of modifying the school situation so as to offset or overcome pupil deficiencies attributable to them.[7]

1.4 *Analogy and inference vs. analysis*

A major question besetting foreign language teachers is the shifting inter-relation between learning by analogy and learning by analysis at each stage or maturity level from infancy to adulthood. "Traditional" language teaching methods have relied heavily on analysis; "audio-lingual" methodology purports to depend heavily on analogy. If all pupils began language learning in grade one there would be no problem. Since there are in fact beginning groups at ages 6 to 25 and older, one pattern cannot fit them all. An approach to this problem could be made by a study of the *age of onset and relative strength at each age level* of the components of language learning aptitude isolated by Carroll,[8] the motivational and attitudinal factors described by Lambert and his associates,[9] plus ability to reason by analogy and inference basic to all first language learning. Armed with the results of such study the language teacher could better adjust his dosage of analogy (pattern drill, overlearning) and analysis (rules, explanations) to suit his learners.

Since analogical reasoning (I walked, I talked, *ergo,* I runned) and inferential determination of meaning (for example each of us knows thousands of "words" but only a few score or hundreds were learned consciously by dictionary or other word study) are basic to first language learning and in lesser degree to second language mastery, there is need for a study of these two processes and for the development of teaching procedures which will 1) make students aware of their function, 2) give step-by-step practice in the conscious application of both processes, and 3) exploit both processes at every point in the language course.[10]

1.5 *Foreign language, literary studies, and other academic fields*

The traditional curricular pattern in American colleges and universities—and in secondary schools offering more than two years of foreign language study—has produced a mutually supporting relationship between language study and only one other academic field: literary

[7] On parent and student aptitudes see Wallace Lambert, Robert C. Gardner, R. Olton, and K. Tunstall, *A study of the roles of attitudes and motivation in second-language learning.* Mimeographed. McGill University, 1961. For an overview of the relation between intelligence and socio-economic status see Kenneth Eells, Allison Davis, Robert J. Havighurst, Virgil E. Herrick, and Ralph W. Tyler, *Intelligence and Cultural Differences.* Chicago: The Uuniversity of Chicago Press, 1951.

[8] John B. Carroll, and Stanley M. Sapon. *Modern Language Aptitude Test* (MLAT). New York: Psychological Corporation, 1958.

John B. Carroll, "A factor analysis of two foreign language aptitude batteries," *The Journal of General Psychology,* Vol. 59, (1958), pp. 3–19.

[9] R. C. Gardner, and Wallace F. Lambert. "Motivational variables in second-language acquisition" in *Canadian Journal of Psychology,* Vol. 13, (1959), pp. 266–272.

Wallace E. Lambert, R. C. Gardner, R. Olton, and K. Tunstall. *A study of the roles of attitudes and motivation in second-language learning.* Mimeographed. McGill University, 1962.

[10] A beginning in this direction has been made in the secondary school Spanish series by Lagrone, McHenry, O'Connor, et al. See "Developing Reading Skills" in *Teacher's Manual for Español: Hablar y Leer,* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962, pp. ix–xiv.

A research project entitled "The Method of Inference in Foreign Language Comprehension, Learning and Retention" is underway at New York University under the direction of Dr. Aaron Carton. The project is supported by the Language Development Program of the United States Office of Education.

studies. This has meant that following the "introductory" and "intermediate" courses (and sometimes a bit of "advanced composition," or "conversation"), the only further formal courses involving foreign language have been courses in the corresponding literature. This practice leaves out of account the possibility that some students might wish to do advanced study in a foreign language applied to specialization in an academic field other than literature.

Notable deviations from the language-to-literature tradition are found in those institutions which offer work in the "neglected" languages. It is not unusual for the courses in such languages as Chinese, Arabic, or Persian to have been introduced at the insistence of "area" specialists as a means of strengthening advanced offerings in their fields.[11] This is not the case with the more commonly taught languages.

It seems particularly important to provide for bilinguals at the college level the opportunity to capitalize on their non-English language by professional specialization, in, for example, political science, international law or relations, anthropology, or economics, related specifically to foreign regions where that language is spoken. This would require developing the same strong, mutually-reinforcing relationship between foreign language study and other fields as now exists only for literary studies. A good deal of preliminary work along this line has been done at Goucher College in Baltimore for majors in International Relations and Political Science, including the expansion of library holdings, indices of periodicals, preparation of a tape library of speeches, etc., presentation of portions of courses through the foreign language, requirement of oral and written reporting in the language, and portions of tests and final examinations to be written in the language.[12]

2.0 *Cooperation with organized ethnic groups*[13]

Nationwide there are ethnic groups, societies, churches, and parochial schools with a strong commitment to the maintenance and development of competence in a language other than English. Judged in the light of a policy which considers competence in modern foreign languages as a national asset, the efforts of these groups should be strongly encouraged, supported, and coordinated where feasible with those of the public schools. Within the limited context of this paper the salient needs are two:

1. Language materials and instruction-through-language materials for such teaching.
2. Standardized tests suitable for use in grades 4, 6, 8, 10 and 12 to measure achievement in the four language skills.

3.0 *Community- and region-based research*

3.1 *Studies of dialect variation*

Any effort to develop the full potential of the bilingualism of native American speakers of a language other than English could profit from answers to two questions:

1) What is the range of dialect variation within the entire community of American speakers of that language?

2) How does the dialect variant of the particular group of speakers under consideration differ from the standard variant which you want them to learn? This information is essential to the production of teaching materials, particularly for use in secondary schools and above. The most casual observation will show marked differences, for example, between the Spanish spoken in the northern Rio Grande Valley and that of San Antonio. Are these regional differences marked enough to warrant different teaching materials for students in the two areas?

3.2 *Languages in contact*

Much needs to be done to clarify the changing status of the two languages in contact in the bilingual at every level. Of particular interest

[11] For an overview of this practice, see Joseph Axelrod, and Donald N. Bigelow, *Resources for Language and Area Studies* (A Report on an Inventory of the Language and Area Centers Supported by the National Defense Education Act of 1958), Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1962.

[12] Brownlee Sands Corrin, *Research on Values and Uses of Foreign Languages for Instruction and Study in the Social Sciences* (Political Science and International Relations), Baltimore: Goucher College, 1962.

[13] This entire matter is discussed masterfully in Joshua A. Fishman, and associates, *Language Loyalty in the United States*. Dittoed. New York: Yeshiva University, 1964, passim and chapter 21.

in the context of this paper—apart from basic linguistic surveys of each bilingual speech community—are linguistic *interference*, *borrowings*, and *switching*. These matters are treated in great detail by Haugen[14] and Weinreich,[15] and both authors suggest many approaches to research. Pertinent to these issues is Fishman's observation that " . . . if a strict domain separation becomes institutionalized such that each language is associated with a number of important but distinct domains, bilingualism can become both universal and stabilized even though an entire population consists of bilinguals interacting with other bilinguals.[16]

3.3 *Sociological studies of peoples in contact*

Because it is constantly changing, the dynamics of a two-language community—whether a neighborhood, an entire town or a region—can never be sufficiently studied. Research of the kind done by Oscar Lewis and his associates in Tepoztlan (Mexico) if performed in the typical American setting where two peoples, each with its own mother tongue, come in contact exclusively through only one of those languages, the socially dominant one, would help the teacher, the school administrator, and the policy makers to act more wisely. To be most useful this research should show both the anthropologist's concern for the dynamics of belief and behavior systems under stress and in contact, and the scientific linguist's awareness of language as a factor in interpersonal and inter-group relationships.[17]

Research on the conflict of two languages within the individual personality requires first that the investigator realize that for a child whose mother tongue is not English, English is a foreign language. The difficulty of grasping this point is typified in the Kohut-Lerea research reported here in footnote No. 20. These highly sophisticated researchers, referring to the 25 Polish-, three Norwegian-, and two Greek-speaking children they worked with, said, "The bilingual subjects in this study acquired a dual language system because of exposure to a second language in the home."

3.4 *Attitude formation*

The work of Wallace Lambert and his associates indicates strongly that the mastery of a second language depends on two independent sets of factors, intelligence and aptitude on the one hand, and on the other hand a complex of motivation and attitudes vis-à-vis the people and culture represented by the second language. Lambert's social-psychological theory of language learning affirms that ". . . the learner's ethnocentric tendencies and his attitudes toward the other group are believed to determine his success in learning the new language.[18] Here Lambert refers particularly to "success" in the degree that identifies the learner with the second language community, i.e., including native-like mastery of phonology. In the light of this theory there is in the American Southwest, Louisiana, and Canadian-French New England marked ethnocentrism, an authoritarian orientation and unfavorable attitudes in both the English and non-English groups of speakers. There is more than a suggestion of a cruel dilemma if Lambert's "integrative" attitude (studying as if one desired to become a member of the other group) is required in order to produce the highest degree of second language mastery. In this case the research need is prompted by the fact that psychologists are currently working on the problem of changing attitudes. It therefore suggests itself that studies and experiments directed toward the formation of more favorable attitudes and motivations in the Lambertian sense might be fruitful.

[14] Haugen, op. cit., passim

[15] Weinreich, op. cit., passim

[16] Fishman cites in support of this Joan Rubin, "Stability and change in a bilingual Paraguayan community." Paper presented at the meeting of the American Anthropological Association, San Francisco, November 21, 1963. See also Rubin's article "Bilingualism in Paraguay," in *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (January, 1962), pp. 52–58.

[17] Oscar Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied*. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1963. Oddly enough, although Tepoztlan is a bilingual community, Lewis gives virtually no attention to the language problem. For the linguist's orientation to these matters cf. John J. Gumperz, "Types of linguistic communities," and Joan Rubin, "Bilingualism in Paraguay," both in *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (January, 1962), Indiana University.

[18] Wallace E. Lambert, "Psychological Approaches to the Study of Language," *The Modern Language Journal*, Vol. XLVII, No. 3 (March, 1963), p. 114.

3.5 *Bilingual dominance configuration*

Without denying the likelihood that most speakers of a given age and socio-economic level in an area of stable population will speak alike, it must be recognized too that members of a minority group, speakers of a subordinate language, in a period of linguistic transition where youngsters sometimes cannot communicate with their grandparents, in areas of marked urban vs. rural differences (some of them traversed annually by uneven waves of illiterate or semi-literate foreign national migrant speakers of the same tongue) subjected on every side to forces of acculturation, all attending schools of greatly varying excellence and where all instruction is given in a dominant language, all part of an increasingly mobile society—the members of such a minority group may also differ widely among themselves in their use of both their native language and the dominant one. That is to say, their bilingualism will show wide variations in pattern, quite apart from the relative excellence of their use of the language. They will differ with respect to their *active or passive* control of the language (Does the "bilingual" think in the language? Does he both understand and speak it? Can he write? Or only read?); with respect to the *situation* where the language is used (Home? Church? Club? Work? With his children? Or only with his parents? With his boss as well as his subordinates? In public?); and with respect to *topics and styles* of usage (Can he discuss religion, the malfunctioning of his automobile, his profession, in both languages? Can he send and receive at each stylistic level as well in one language as in the other?) Are there technical or stylistic gaps in his vocabulary? All of the above is to say that there is immediate need for the construction of a survey instrument which will determine the *bilingual dominance configuration* of a given group or individual.[19]

It is important to know the "dominance configuration" of any bilingual group that becomes a subject of study, for at least three reasons:

1) With such knowledge those charged with the education of the bilingual child or adult are better equipped to appraise him and prepare a course of study for him.

2) The dominance configuration, determined periodically and combined with tests of language proficiency, would be the surest means of determining changes in the status of language maintenance and language shift in bilingual speech communities.

3) It seems likely that an accurate index of bilingual dominance would be a powerful weapon in support of the position that "balanced" bilinguals will not score below monolinguals in tests of both verbal and non-verbal intelligence. Armed with an adequate instrument for determining the bilingual diminance configuration, it would be possible to replicate, in effect, in any of our bilingual areas, the Peal-Lambert study of bilingual ten-year-olds in Montreal which gave strong evidence that *if the children are equally well educated in both languages*, i.e., "balanced" bilinguals, they are superior in both verbal and non-verbal intelligence to monolinguals, and also appear to have greater mental flexibility, a superiority in concept formation, and a more diversified set of mental abilities.[20]

4.0 *Research based on the bilingual individual*

4.1 *Interviews-in-depth of "balanced" bilinguals*

Despite conditions of learning which do not favor the development of highly literate "balanced bilingualism" in Americans who enter school with a mother tongue other than English, some individuals do achieve this goal. It is hypothesized that a study of a representative sample of such persons would produce information of value to educators concerned with the

[19] The problem of devising such an instrument has been studied most recently by Dr. Joshua Fishman of Yeshiva University. The whole matter is carefully analyzed in his unpublished paper "Domains of Language Behavior in Multilingual Settings," 1964. Uriel Weinreich has proposed a dominance configuration on a different basis: op. cit. pp. 74-80. Wallace Lambert judged bilingual "balance" by combining an association fluency test, a picture vocabulary test and other measures. See footnote No. 20. Also see Lambert's article "Measurement of the linguistic dominance of bilinguals," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. 50 (1955), pp. 197-200.

[20] Wallace Lambert and Elizabeth Peal, "The Relation of Bilingualism to Intelligence" *Psychological Monographs: General and Applied*, No. 546, Vol. 76, No. 27, 1962 (American Psychological Assoc., 1333 16th St., NW, Washington, D.C.). Cf. also Louis Lerea and Suzanne M. Kobut, "A Comparative Study of Monolinguals and Bilinguals in a verbal Task Performance," *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, Vol. XVII, No. 1 (January, 1961), pp. 49-52.

bilingual child. The need here is for a survey instrument with which to conduct interviews-in-depth of adults identified as "highly literate balanced bilinguals." "Balance" in this case cannot be expected to mean absolute parity, since this is always impossible. Rather it would mean a relatively equal number of important domains associated with each language, and relatively equal literacy in each. The difficulty of identifying such persons except by personal observation suggests that this research might follow the development of the index of bilingual dominance configuration noted elsewhere in this paper.

4.2 *Studies of second-language acquisition*

There is urgent need for a study of second-language acquisition under "natural" (co-ordinate) conditions at at least three age levels, infancy, six years, and 15 years to determine the sequence of learnings in the three language systems: phonology, morphology and syntax. Each such study should be conducted with the assistance of a person competent in descriptive linguistics in order to note the complete process of developing phonemic discrimination.[21] By "natural" conditions is meant total immersion in the second language environment in a school and play situation, e.g., a monolingual American child placed in a French-language boarding school in France. Such a study could provide invaluable insights into the sequencing of second language learning materials.

Along with this day-by-day study of the acquisition of a second language to the point where the basic structures of the language have been mastered, there is need for longitudinal studies of the development of the bilingual children through the twelfth grade.

4.3 *Bilingualism and a third language*

There is much informal, usually subjective, evidence to support the belief that bilingualism acquired by natural means facilitates the learning of a third language. It is also quite common to be told that the second language should be taught in such a manner as to facilitate the later acquisition of a third. This latter is especially so because although most Americans have little opportunity in school to study any language other than French, German, or Spanish, many might find in later years a greater need for Chinese, Polish, or Twi. The research indicated in this connection is on two levels:

1) Development of objective evidence (possibly through case studies of individuals) of the relationship of bilingualism to third language learning and the conditions and mechanisms by which the relationship manifests itself.[22]
2) Application of those conditions and mechanisms to the formal school learning of a second language in order to facilitate maximally the learning of a third one.

5.0 *Teaching materials*

5.1 *Contrastive analyses and teaching materials.*

The immediate need is for a study of the range of dialect variation. Thereafter, work should begin on an analysis of the standard form contrasted with each dialectical variant to facilitate the production of teaching materials. The third step would be the teaching materials themselves,[23] designed for presentation through that language and with at least the following features:

1) intensive oral drill from recorded patterns,
2) extensive reading and listening to recorded literature,
3) extensive use of sound films on technical and other subjects to broaden the stu-

[21] For a suitable methodology and much pertinent data see Ruth Hirsch Weir, *Language in the Crib*. The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1962. See also Werner F. Leopold's classic study *Speech Development of a Bilingual Child*. 4 vols. Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1939–50.

[22] Uriel Weinreich (op. cit.) says that Gali (Alexandre Gali, "Comment mésurer l'influence du bilinguisme," *Bureau International d'Education*, No. 86, pp. 123–136), proposed an appropriate line of experimental investigation to determine whether or how bilingualism helps in the acquisition of a third language.

[23] For a first effort in this direction see the work of Dr. Gerard J. Brault and associates to produce such materials for use with Franco-Americans in New England: *Cours de langue française destiné aux jeunes Franco-Américains*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1963. Also pertinent is the research of Ruth I. Golden reported in *Effectiveness of instructional Tapes for Changing Regional Speech Patterns* (final report on U. S. Office of Education Title VII project No. 539), Detroit (Michigan) Public Schools, 1962.

dents' horizon and sense of his own possibilities,

4) controlled composition
5) increasing emphasis on learning through the language rather than learning the language as an end in itself.

5.2 *Teaching materials on all levels of style*

A body of materials (in both printed and recorded form) consisting of short selections—usually paragraphs—of exposition, narration, dialogue, etc., graded by difficulty and each presented in variant forms corresponding to the levels of style distinguished in Joos' *The Five Clocks*.[28] It is not suggested that such materials would fill the stylistic gaps in the vocabulary of "unbalanced" bilinguals but they could be used to develop an awareness of those levels.

[28] Martin Joos, *The Five Clocks*. *International Journal of American Linguistics*, Vol. 28, No. 2, Part V (1962).

Bilingualism and the Bilingual Child —A Symposium

(Continued from previous issue)

*Psychological Aspects of Bilingualism**

DAVID T. HARRIS, *University of Texas*

IN 1956, Einar Haugen wrote, in his book *Bilingualism in the Americas*, "The locus of bilingualism is in the individual mind. The psychological study of the bilingual is therefore of central importance in the analysis of bilingualism. . . . While little has been done so far beyond the elaboration of a terminology, the psychological approach promises experimentation which could bring with it new linguistic insights as well."[1]

While the promise of psychological contributions to the understanding of bilingualism still exists, there still is little more than a promise. Almost the only aspect of bilingualism which has received much psychological attention is its effects on intelligence test performance. Aside from this, there has been very little psychological study which is directly relevant to the problems of bilingualism and the bilingual individual since Haugen pointed to the promise of this line of endeavor.

Haugen and numerous other linguists have suggested that before an adequate *linguistic* account of bilingualism can be presented, it is first necessary for the linguist to present adequate descriptions of the languages involved. For an adequate *psycholinguistic* account, still more is needed.

The area of psycholinguistics is primarily concerned with the learning and use of language by the individual. Needless to say, before any sort of an account of the processes and problems involved in the learning of a second language can even be approached, some sort of account must be made of the various processes involved in the individual's learning of his first, or native, language. Going beyond this, some account should also be made of the functions which language serves for this individual. Only when considerable progress had been made in these directions can we hope to have anything very intelligent to say about the added complications arising in second language learning. A consideration of what has been learned about some of the processes and problems of language learning may suggest some of the psychological implications of bilingualism.

Language behavior starts with the babbling of the infant.[2] Many authorities (e.g., Carroll, 1960) have questioned whether babbling can be considered the "true" beginning of language or whether there is some sort of break between this stage of development and true language. But one thing appears certain: it is during the babbling stage, early in life, that the infant begins to gain control over his vocal apparatus.

It is interesting to note that while babbling, the infant emits sounds which occur in languages other than his native language (Tischler, 1957). But later on, these sounds disappear. The child raised in an English-speaking community will emit unrounded vowel sounds, rolled "r's", and even sounds produced with the intake of breath rather than its expulsion—sounds which later in life he finds it difficult to master or even to approximate.

This raises a first problem. What causes the child to lose the ability to emit sounds which do not occur in his native language? And, more im-

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[1] Publication 26 of the American Dialect Society, University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1956, page 66.

[2] For a recent, comprehensive review of the literature on language development, see S. M. Ervin, and W. R. Miller, "Language development", in H. W. Stevenson (Ed.), *Child Psychology, The Sixty-second Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963).

portantly, how does his random babbling become transformed into the highly organized and intelligible sounds which the child later emits? Tentatively, we may suggest that the answer to both questions is the same and that it is the child's parents, eager to hear the child "talk to them" who are responsible. The mechanism seems to be that the parents and other adults reward those sounds in the child's babbling which most closely resemble sounds in the native language.

For the child to learn to speak early is considered a good thing in most societies. Besides, parents are generally very flattered when their child first recognizes them. So when the child first emits something which sounds vaguely like "ma" or "da" the parents are likely to shower rewards on him. These rewards may be no more than a smile, speaking to the child, or simply paying attention to him.

The result of this selective attention, or reward, by the parents is that those sounds which approximate the native language, and are rewarded, tend to increase in frequency while those which do not approximate the native language, and are not rewarded, occur less frequently, eventually disappearing. They die from lack of nourishment.

It is, then, through selective reward by the parents and other members of the language community that the sounds which the child uses are gradually shaped into the sounds of the language. But this is, of course, only the first step in the process. For while the child may begin to develop speech in this way, it is speech which is still meaningless. It is still semi-random sound and not speech in response to objects or events in the child's environment.

This poses a second problem. How does the child learn to emit a particular pattern of sounds only when it is appropriate? This, of course, is the problem of the learning of meanings, of reference, or of semantic relationships between stimuli in the child's environment and responses in his speech behavior. While the first problem, that of acquiring the speech sounds of the language, appears to be fairly simple (even though it is not), this second problem does not even appear simple.

Brown (1958) has suggested that the learning of semantic reference might be dubbed the "original word game." Basically the game involves two people—the child (or learner) and the parent (or teacher). According to Brown, the game proceeds something like this. The child, who by now has some sounds approaching words, emits these sounds as he wanders around his environment. At first, of course, the parents do not really care whether he is talking "about anything" or not. They are too pleased that he is talking at all. But the parents soon grow weary of all this noise which the child makes. And as the child grows older, the parents' expectations increase. The child is expected to start talking "about something."

The result is that the parents begin to be more selective in what they will reward. Now, the child must not only emit sounds which sound like words, but he must also do so only when they are appropriate. In short, the parents begin to pay attention to whether the thing which the child "names" (and at this point it can hardly be called "naming") is actually present. And the child is rewarded only when the thing named is present.

For example, when the child first acquires a response which sounds something like "doggie," he tends to emit this in a great variety of situations—when a dog is present, or a cat, or a horse or perhaps even when there is nothing present which is even vaguely animal. But if the parents reward the child selectively, that is, only when a dog is actually present, we can observe the same sort of process we observed in the learning of speech sounds. The frequency with which "doggie" occurs in the presence of a dog increases. And conversely, the frequency with which "doggie" occurs when a dog is not present decreases. The child has begun to *discriminate* between those situations where "doggie" is likely to be rewarded and those in which it is not.

Here we have the essentials of the original word game. The child emits a word, and the parents, in effect, tell him whether or not he is correct. It goes without saying, of course, that if the parents are too strict at first, that is, if from the beginning they reward "doggie" only when it is appropriate, the child will not be rewarded very often and will probably stop talking altogether. It is necessary first for the parents to build up the strength of the response

and then to teach its appropriate use.

It never ceases to amaze me that parents, who probably know nothing about learning theory and who certainly do not consciously use it in teaching their children to talk, do as well as they do. While it appears to be only by accident that parents, in fact, do just about what the learning theorist would tell them to do, it is certainly a fortunate accident.

But to return to the original word game. It appears that the process is considerably more complicated than I have suggested so far. For example, when the child is learning to use "doggie," he is probably also learning to use "kitty." And, somehow, he has to learn when each of these is an appropriate response. In other words, he has to learn the difference between a dog and a cat. This is a problem of differentiation which we, as adult speakers, have mastered so well that it does not seem to be very difficult. But stop and think for a moment. What are the characteristics of a dog which are different from those of a cat? They are both four-legged animals and probably fairly small. Both have fur, two eyes, two ears and so forth.

To be sure, there are some differences. Dogs are likely to be larger, but not necessarily so. The two do tend to make different noises. But the chances are that neither one is making any noise when the child sees them, and especially not if he sees pictures of them. This really then is not much help.

Obviously, there are differences between them. But the differences are fairly subtle. And consequently, it is difficult for the child to learn what they are. But this is only a part of the problem, for the child must learn to discriminate a dog not only from a cat but also from everything else in his environment. And the characteristics of a dog which discriminate it from a cat are not going to be the same ones which discriminate if from, say, a wolf.

So the process of learning to "name" a dog correctly consists of forming a set of complex and difficult discriminations as well as learning to emit the sequence of sounds "doggie." And if the problems are great in learning what a dog is, imagine the difficulty the child is going to have with "truth" or "justice" or "God."

But while the problems of learning appropriate references for his vocabulary are great, they are not insurmountable, as is evidenced by the fact that the problems are solved by every individual who learns a language.

One thing which seems to help in this process of acquiring references or meanings, and this is something about which we know very little, is that somewhere during the learning process the child learns not only the necessary discriminations but also learns that he is playing the original word game. Although he is probably unable to tell you what the game is or what its rules are, he seems to become aware that there is a game to be played and that playing the game correctly leads to rewards. When he reaches this point, he is no longer simply emitting words and being rewarded, he is now actively playing the game, searching out places in which to try out his new vocabulary. Once he has arrived at this stage, the nature of the game is different. And the rate at which he learns new references increases greatly.

This is also a period in which vocabulary increases rapidly. For when the child learns that some four-legged animals are dogs and some are not, it is very useful for him to have names for those which are not. In short, learning the appropriate referent for "doggie" signals that there are other referents which are not named "doggie" but which have other names. And the task now is to learn what these other names are as well as to what they refer.

As I just stated, very little is known about how the child learns to play the original word game. In fact, we have not as yet even developed a very adequate language for talking about the process. But it is apparent that somewhere in his language development the child learns that things in his environment have names and that learning these names is rewarding. You might say that he learns how to go about learning what these are (cf., Miller, Galanter, and Pribram, 1960; James and Hakes, in press).

We have talked so far about the learning of speech or, if you wish, the vocabulary of the language. We have also talked about the learning of meanings or references. But we have left out of our account the role of grammar. Though this is very uncertain ground, grammar appears to be sufficiently important that we should not pass by without considering it.

First, let us note that whatever a person says

comes out in a sequence. Beyond a very young age, even the child does not go around emitting single words. Rather, he emits sequences of words, and the order of the sequence makes a difference (at least in English), as in the two sequences: "John hit Mary" and "Mary hit John."

It would be tempting to think that the orderliness of these sequences is a simple matter—that as a sequence is being emitted, one word determines what the next word will be. But unfortunately, such a simple left-to-right creation of sentences is inadequate on both linguistic and psychological grounds (cf., Chomsky, 1957). The most obvious reason is that what is emitted is influenced both by what precedes and by what follows as when, in English, the adjective precedes the noun which it modifies.

A more likely answer is that the individual generates or composes what is said before he emits it. But the nature of this composition process appears to be extremely complex, and the working out of the process is a task which is far from complete (Chomsky, *1957; Osgood*, 1963).

But what is more important here are the answers to two questions. First, how does the child go about learning the structure, or grammar, of his native language? And secondly, how does the learning of grammar affect the other learning processes which we have already mentioned?

To the first question, no very definite answer can be given. It would appear that the grammar which the child learns is learned from the verbal behavior of others around him. We have pointed out that the child is likely to be rewarded for emitting a word only when it is appropriate in terms of the situation. But once he has passed the stage of one-word utterances, there are other restrictions placed on what he can say which will be rewarded. A word is appropriate only in certain situations, but it is also appropriate only in certain positions in an utterance or sentence.

What is being emphasized is that words occur in verbal contexts, and different words are appropriate only in different contexts. "Dog" cannot be used in the same verbal contexts as "eats," at least if the child is going to be rewarded.

In much the same way in which the child learns the appropriate stimulus situations for the use of a word, he also learns the appropriate verbal contexts for the word's use. The processes involved are the observing of how other people use the word, using it himself in sentences which he has composed, and either being rewarded or not rewarded. Again, while the processes sound simple, their application is not. Likewise, the grammar which the child learns through their application is also not simple.

There are several observations about the learning of grammar which may be relevant here. The first is that the child appears to have learned most of the grammatical rules of his language by the time he begins school (cf., Brown and Fraser, 1963), that is, before anyone has ever told him what the rules are. So, for example, before he learns the traditional definition of a noun—that it is the name of a person, place or thing (a totally inadequate definition in the first place)—he has already learned that those things which are later called nouns are *words* which fit into certain positions in sentences and not into others. In other words, any word which fits the "noun positions" belongs to the class of nouns (cf., Fries, 1952).

What is important here is that the rules are not learned explicitly, that is, by definition. Rather, they are learned by observing and attempting to create sentences. What this means, of course, is that the child's grammar is going to be no better than that of his tutors, and these are going to be mainly his parents, other adults in his immediate environment and his peers. By the time the schoolteacher gets a chance, the child may have some considerable unlearning and relearning to do.

A second interesting point is that the young child's grammar is likely to be much better than it appears at first glance. When the child is using two and three word utterances, these often appear not to be very grammatical. But these sentences, like "Where kitty?" and "Daddy gone" have a definite structure. More importantly, this structure is very closely related to that of the adult's language.

It has been suggested (Brown and Fraser, 1963) that the child takes the adult's grammar as a model and then leaves parts of it out. The parts which are omitted are quite consistent—

the child omits those parts which contribute little to the meaning of the sentence—the articles, conjunctions, auxiliary verbs and so forth—and leaves in only those parts which are essential for being understood. As he grows older, more and more of the omitted parts are inserted until his sentences are like those of the adult.

We can think of the child's grammar as being an abbreviated or telegraphic form of the adult's more complete grammar rather than as something only remotely related. This implies, of course, that the rules of the child's grammar are the same; there are just fewer of them. Consequently, the child is not going to have to discard his rules and learn others as he matures. He simply has to learn to use the rest of the rules.

But we have considered so far only the processes involved in the learning of grammar, processes which seem to be similar to those involved in the learning of reference. There is more.

The linguist is generally inclined to consider the semantic and grammatical aspects of language as being independent (e.g., Chomsky, 1957). And perhaps for purposes of describing the adult's language this is appropriate. But it appears that in terms of language learning grammar and reference are not independent. The structure of the language is used in learning word meanings; and conversely, word meanings are used in learning the language's structure.

We have pointed out that the child learns both what the appropriate situations and the appropriate verbal contexts for the use of a word are. Going one step further, we can suggest that each of these is used to assist the learning of the other. Take, for example, the sentences:

"Here Daddy."
"Here Mommy."
"There Daddy."
"There Mommy."

There are several things which are consistent in these sentences. "Daddy" and "Mommy" both occur in the same (second) position. And they are, of course, words that belong to the same grammatical class and also have a good deal of similarity of meaning. The same is the case with "Here" and "There." Both occur in the same position—but a different position from "Daddy" or "Mommy"—they both belong to the same grammatical class, and they are similar in meaning.

Now when we hear the child emit a new sentence, such as "Here kitty." we should not be at all surprised to hear him also emit "There kitty." Similarly, once he has emitted "Where Daddy?", we should also expect to hear "Where Mommy?" and "Where kitty?". In short, the grammatical framework into which a particular word fits indicates that that word belongs to a grammatical class and that it can be substituted in other sentence frames for other members of the same class. The child is extending his repertory of sentences by substituting new words in old sentence frames and using old words in new sentence frames.

In addition, he is also learning that words which fit into common grammatical frames have some similarity in meaning. To be sure, "Daddy," "Mommy" and "kitty" are far from meaning the same thing. But they are considerably more similar in meaning than "Daddy" and "here." Thus the child has a cue to a part of the meaning of words by simply noting the positions in which they occur in sentences; the grammatical position indicates some of the semantic characteristics.

The relationship probably works in the reverse direction as well. If the child learns that "kitty" and "doggie" refer to similar things, we may expect him to use them in the same positions in sentences: the case in which the meanings of the words indicate their grammatical status. (See Brown and Fraser, 1963; Jenkins, 1962, for a more extended treatment of this relationship.)

We have here a very rough outline of some of the processes which appear to be involved in the learning of language. There are, of course, a great many others. We have placed the emphasis on the child as speaker rather than listener, and no mention has been made of the processes involved in learning to read or write. But even from this limited discussion, I think it is apparent that the learning of a language is an extremely complex and time-consuming process. When, in addition, the individual acquires a second language as well, the problems are multiplied.

There are, of course, many variables which

are going to affect second language learning: the degree to which the first language has been mastered, the similarity of the situations in which the two are learned and used, the age of the learner, his socio-economic background, and others too numerous to mention. All of these, at least to some extent, are going to influence the nature and extent of the bilingual's problems.

Of course, there are not just problems; there are some advantages for the second language learner as well. For example, to the extent that the individual has learned to play the original word game—has learned how to learn language—he will be benefited.

But the problems are legion, and some of these are worth suggesting.

First of all, we noted earlier that sounds which do not occur in the person's native language occur during the babbling stage and then tend to disappear. To the extent that these will be used in the second language, they must be recovered. In both speaking and hearing, the individual must learn to make additional discriminations in order to hear and produce sound differences which signal differences in meaning in the second language. In other words, sounds which are treated as the same in the native language may be treated as different in the second language, and having learned not to discriminate between them, the individual must now learn to discriminate between them—but only in the second language.

But a far greater problem arises in connection with the original word game. Consider, for example, the problem faced by a Spanish speaking child when he's placed in an English speaking situation. He is confronted with a referent, say, a dog, about which he wishes to speak. He has already learned what a dog is—that it is different from a cat, a horse, and so forth. And he has already learned the Spanish name for dog. He is now faced with the problem of learning the English name "dog."

This is a situation which the learning theorist recognizes as a particularly difficult one. In learning theory terms, the individual has acquired one response to the stimulus, dog. Attempting now to acquire a second response to the same stimulus provides what is referred to as a negative transfer situation (Postman, 1961). The previously learned response will interfere with learning the new response in the sense that *the new learning will be more difficult than if there had been no previous learning.* In addition, when the new response, the English word "dog," begins to gain some strength, it, in turn, will interfere with the old response, the Spanish word for dog. It will, in short, be very difficult for the individual to retain both responses to the same stimulus. And this interference will occur for every word which the individual attempts to add to his second-language vocabulary except for the few cases where there was no word in the native language vocabulary.

Complicating the problem further is the fact that words in the two languages are rarely synonymous. Situations are frequent in which what is referred to with a single word in one language may be referred to by a number of words in the other. Thus, objects or events which are "lumped together" in the native language may be "split apart" and named separately in the second language. And, of course, the converse holds as well. The individual must acquire new *discriminations not only at the sound, or* phonemic, level, he must also do so at the semantic level.

The learning situation of the bilingual is, then, a situation in which interference and confusion between the verbal responses of the two languages are inevitable.

But this is only the beginning of the problem. Interference operates not only in the learning and selection of the appropriate response in the appropriate language, it operates at the grammatical level as well. To the extent that the grammars of the two languages are similar but not identical, there will be interference. Differences in word order must be learned, such as whether the adjective precedes or follows the noun it modifies, whether the object precedes or follows the verb, and so on. Here, as at the phonemic and semantic levels, the differences are likely to be subtle and difficult to learn, and confusion the result.

It would appear that one of the causes of this great interference is the difficulty of discriminating the situations in which one language is appropriate and those in which the other is appropriate. We have pointed to the fact that the child must learn to discriminate between objects and events in his environment in order to

attach the correct label or name to each. And the same learning-to-discriminate problem exists when the labels are words in different languages for the same or similar objects or events.

One point which we have not stressed is that language is social behavior. For it to develop, it must be rewarded. And unlike much other behavior, language can be rewarded only by another person—the environment provides few rewards for talking. In spite of having just reread *Tarzan of the Apes* (Burroughs, 1912), I find it extremely difficult to believe that anyone ever learned language without an audience to reward him.

But the audience serves other functions as well as that of providing reward. It is also a stimulus in the sense that in the presence of some people one response is appropriate and in the presence of others another is appropriate. Thus the bilingual is faced with the problem of discriminating audiences, learning to respond in English to some people and in Spanish to others.

This general sort of discrimination has to be learned by all children, whether bilingual or not. For the child has to learn that verbal behavior which is appropriate for his peers may not be rewarded by his parents. But the problem is compounded for the bilingual. He has to learn to discriminate a greater number of different audiences, and some of those which he must learn to discriminate are not very different. For example, the Latin child in Texas has to learn to discriminate between his peers when he is in school (or at least within earshot of a teacher)—an audience for English—and the same peers when he is playing with them outside of school—an audience for Spanish. The audience is composed of the same people in both cases and differs mainly in terms of where these people are.

Causing still further problems is another aspect of the audience. We have talked about the audience as either presenting or withholding rewards. But members of the audience may serve an additional function. They may punish if the behavior is inappropriate. In the case we spoke of a moment ago, if the child speaks Spanish in school, he is likely to be punished. And, if he speaks English at home or among his peers outside of school, he may also be punished.

Now punishment is a curious thing. Its effects are quite different from what they appear. The normal use of punishment is, of course, to eliminate the punished behavior. And, in the short run, it appears to have this effect. If the Latin child is punished for speaking Spanish in school, he may well be less likely to do so in the future. But the effect of punishment is *not* to weaken behavior but rather only to suppress it. The behavior hasn't really disappeared; it's being held down by the fear of further punishment—by anxiety. The emotional behavior of anxiety has become stronger than the punished behavior. But the effect is not that of getting the child to speak English rather than Spanish. The effect is, more likely, that the child will stop talking in school altogether.

There is a further consequence. The child learns a new audience discrimination—between punishing and non-punishing people. Having learned this discrimination, the punished behavior (and perhaps all behavior) is less likely to occur in the presence of a punishing audience (emotional behavior occurs instead), but *it is just as likely to occur when the punishing audience is not present.*

It is remarkable how finely this discrimination between punishing and non-punishing audiences can be made. Most children learn that their parents are punishing audiences for four-letter Anglo-Saxon words. But they also learn that their parents are less likely to be punishing when other people are present. As a result the four-letter words are likely to come out when company comes to call, in public places, and other situations where they are particularly embarrassing to the parents. Since this is exactly the sort of behavior the punishment was intended to eliminate in the first place, it is rather apparent that punishment not only does not have the desired effect but is, in fact, having exactly the opposite effect. And the child's anxiety level is raised in the process.

That language learning is an extremely complex and difficult process is the inescapable conclusion. The difficulties are multiplied when, even under the best of circumstances, the individual is faced with learning not one, but two languages. And, unfortunately, the circumstances are seldom as good as they ought to be.

An individual who attempts to learn a second

language, regardless of the circumstances, is going to have a difficult time of it. There is simply too much evidence that interference and negative transfer are inevitable for the bilingual to a far greater extent than for the monolingual. In addition, of course, there is the obvious point that the bilingual has more to learn, phonemically, semantically and grammatically than the monolingual.

The point, then, is that it will never be possible to make the learning task as easy for the bilingual as it is for the monolingual. But this does not imply that the task for both cannot be made considerably easier than it usually is.

I have attempted to suggest some of the processes and problems which are involved in learning a language and some of the special problems which may arise for the individual trying to learn not one but two languages.

It would be risky to suggest solutions to the problems raised. As was noted earlier, we know far too little about language learning in general and still less about bilingualism. I think there is hope that in the future we will *know* enough about these problems to feel confident in making some suggestions about ways in which they might be alleviated. The promise which Haugen (1956) saw in the psychological approach to language and bilingualism is still there. But it will still have to be fulfilled in the future.

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*Bilingualism, Intelligence and Language Learning**

JOSHUA A. FISHMAN, *Yeshiva University*

FEW behavioral science fields have been plowed as frequently, and fewer yet have produced more contradictory findings, than the relationship between bilingualism, intelligence and language learning. Nevertheless, it is precisely such a topic which fascinates the layman, the teacher and the researcher alike for it has in it many of the ingredients that distinguish between the trivial and the vital topics of scholarship; namely, social relevance and theoretical centrality to basic processes of human interaction. Well over half the world is bilingual today, even by a fairly strict definition of this term. Certainly, we must try to find out what this implies for personality, for intelligence, for society, and for culture.

While I do *not* claim to have single-handedly sundered the Gordian knot of "bilingual problems" I do believe that much of this knot has arisen as a result of our too quickly pulling at

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one or another thread protruding from it. My own approach has been to view bilingualism in two separate perspectives. One perspective is that of *cross-cultural comparisons*. The other is that of the *diversity of concomitants, antecedents and consequences*. It seems to me that we cannot hope to really understand bilingualism in the United States unless we fully recognize the *diversity of bilingual settings* within our own country and throughout the world. A cross-cultural view enables us to see that *there are many different kinds of bilingualisms* and that it is unwise to make or to seek pat statements that apply equally well to all of them. It also seems to me that we cannot hope to really grasp the relationships between bilingualisms and intelligences, or between bilingualisms and language learning, unless we know what *political, social, cultural, or economic variables to control* or partial out of our analyses. I here emphasize the former perspective, which emphasizes the differential description of bilingualism, and refer my readers to other sources[1] for a more detailed discussion of the latter, the manifold antecedents, concomitants and consequences of bilingualism.

The description of bilingualism

The description of bilingualism has been tackled by a great number of investigators from different disciplines, each being concerned with a somewhat different nuance. Linguists have been most concerned with the analysis of bilingualism primarily from the point of view of *switching or interference*. The measures that they have proposed from their particular disciplinary point of departure distinguish between phonetic, lexical and grammatical proficiency and intactness.[2] At the other extreme stand educators who are concerned with bilingualism in terms of *total performance contrasts* in very complex contexts (the school, even the society).[3] Psychologists have usually studied degrees of bilingualism in terms of speed, automaticity, or habit strength.[4] Sociologists have relied upon relative frequencies of use in different settings. Thus, since a great number of different bilingualism scores or quotients are already available, the social-psychologist interested in bilingualism must decide which, if any, are appropriate to his own concerns. If particular sensitivities to language behavior or if particular *organized* approaches to the data of habitual language use characterize the social psychology of bilingualism, these must be brought into play in evaluating the methods suggested by scholars from other disciplines who have approached the quantification of bilingualism with other sensitivities or points of view.

The need for a combination of interrelated measures

It would seem, therefore, that the linguist's concern with interference and switching is a necessary ingredient of the social-psychological study of bilingualism, if only to give a more refined answer to the question, "*Which* language is being used?" This question may be easier to answer in some cases than in others (e.g., it may be easier to answer in connection with encoding than in connection with inner speech; it may be easier to answer in connection with writing than in connection with speaking; it may be easier to answer in connection with formal and technical communication than in connection with intimate communication) for the "density" of interference and switching varies for the same individual from occasion to occasion and from

[1] Joshua A. Fishman, "Language maintenance and language shift as a field of inquiry." *Linguistics*, 1964, no. 9, 32–70.

[2] Thus, Haugen suggests, "distinct tests . . . on each of the levels of phonemics, grammar, and basic lexicon" (Einar Haugen, "Bilingualism in the Americas: A Bibliography and Research Guide," Publication No. 26 of the American Dialect Society, University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1956, p. 76), with several further differentiations within these levels, some of which are indicated below. Mackey goes even further and suggests that separate measures are also required at the semantic and stylistic levels (Wm. F. Mackey, "The Description of Bilingualism," *Canadian Journal of Linguistics*, 1962, 7, 51–85.)

[3] Among the most recent measures are those of Herschel T. Manuel which seek to enable "educators to compare the achievement of a student in one language with his achievement in another (H. T. Manuel, "The Preparation and Evaluation of Inter-Language Testing Materials," Austin: University of Texas, 1963. A mimeographed report of Cooperative Research Project Number 681.) It is typical of educational concerns to be more interested in determining the overall extent of bilingualism than in describing it in terms of quantified componential analysis.

[4] A convenient review of modern psychological approaches to the measurement of bilingualism is contained in Wallace E. Lambert, "Psychological approaches to the study of language"; Part II: "On second-language learning and bilingualism." *The Modern Language Journal*, 1963, 47, 114–121., in which Lambert discusses his own studies as well as those of others.

situation to situation. Although interference and switching are lawful behaviors, there are types of bilingualism in which even linguists will be hard pressed to determine the answer to "Which language is being used?" particularly if a single supra-level answer is required.

Similarly, the educator's concern with relative proficiency, the psychologist's concern with relative ease or automaticity, and the sociologist's concern with relative frequency of language use in a contact situation are also necessarily of concern to the student of the social-psychology of bilingualism, for these all provide important indications of whether, when and to what degree conservation or change are operative. Thus, in conclusion, the contribution that the social-psychologist can make to the description of bilingualism is precisely his awareness that (a) *various* measures are needed if the social realities of multilingual settings are to be reflected and that (b) these measures *can* be *organized* in terms of relatively *general* variance considerations. Of the many approaches to variance in language use that are possible the following have greatest appeal to me:

a. *Media variance: written, read and spoken language.*[5] Degree of bilingualism may be quite different in these very different media.

b. *Role variance:* Degree of bilingualism may be quite different in connection with *inner speech* (in which ego is both source and target), *comprehension* (decoding, in which ego is the target), and *production* (encoding, in which ego is the source). Where bilingualism is resisted, inner speech may be most resistant to interference, switching and disuse of the mother tongue (i.e., it may be least bilingual). Where bilingualism is conscious and desired, the reverse may be true.[6]

c. *Situational variance: formal, semi-formal, informal, intimate, et cetera.*[7] Situational styles pertain for example to consideration of intimacy, distance, formality-informality, solidarity-non-solidarity, status or power equality-inequality. Thus certain styles within every language, and in multilingual settings, certain languages in contrast to others, are considered by particular interlocutors to be indicators of greater intimacy, informality, equality, and the like. Not only do multilinguals frequently consider one of their languages more dialectal, more regional, more sub-standard, more vernacular-like, more argot-like than the others, but, in addition, they more frequently associate one of their languages with informality, equality, or solidarity than they do the other. As a result, one is more likely to be reserved for certain situations than the other. Thus, where bilingualism is resisted more intimate situations may be most resistive to mother tongue interference, switching or disuse.

[5] Writing and reading are differentiated as separate media not only because they may be pursued in different languages, but because each is capable of independent productive and receptive use. In general, the formal dimensions presented here make use of more distinctions than may be necessary in all multilingual settings. Both empirical and theoretical considerations must ultimately by involved in selecting the dimensions appropriate for the analysis of particular settings.

[6] Unfortunately, the term *role* is currently employed in several somewhat different ways, eg. "role in society" (major, untouchable, bank-president), "role relation" vis-à-vis particularly others (husband-wife, father-child, teacher-pupil), "occasional role" (chairman, host, spokesman), and "momentary role" (initiator of a communication, respondent, listener). It is in this last sense that the term "role" will be used in connection with "role variance" above, while it is in the sense of "role-relation" that the term "role" will be used subsequently in our discussion of differentiations within the domains of language behavior.

[7] I am indebted to the work of many others for this tripartite division into media, role and situational sources of variance. Floyd Lounsbury suggested this particular nomenclature when I presented him with my dissatisfaction at referring to these distinctions in terms of "levels," "aspects," "modes," or other commonly used and insufficiently denotative designations. The distinctions themselves have a long history. They are obviously related to the distinction between "receiving and sending bilinguals," "oral and visual bilinguals," and "close and distant bilinguals" suggested by Mary Haas (Claude Levi-Strauss, Roman Jakobson, C. F. Voegelin, and Thomas Sebeok. Results of the conference of anthropologists and linguists. Memoirs, Supplement to *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 1953, 19, no. 42); to the distinctions within "mode of use" (speaking vs. writing and reading) suggested by Weinreich (Uriel Weinreich, "Languages in Contact," New York: Linguistic Circle of New York, 1953, p. 73); to the discussion of comprehension, production, frequency distortions and levels of style provided by Haugen (*op. cit.*, p. 85), and to the distinction between "internal functions" and "external functions" made by Mackey (*op. cit.*, pp. 35 and 63). Similar or related distinctions have certainly also been made by others.

The reverse may be true when bilingualism is fully desired.

The relevance of situational variance to the description of bilingualism is equally great, whether we are concerned with stabilized bilingual settings or with the more fleeting settings which characterize the American immigrant case. Consider for example the case of two government functionaries in Brussells who usually speak French at the office except when they bump into each other. The two of them grew up together in the same Flemish speaking town and went to school together. Their respective sets of parents strike them as being similarly "kind-but-old-fashioned." These two functionaries share many common experiences and points of view, or think they do, or pretend they do, and therefore they tend to speak to each other in the language which represents for them the intimacy that they share. The two do not cease being government functionaries when they speak Flemish rather than French to each other; they merely prefer to *treat* each other as intimates rather than as functionaries.

However, the careful observer will also note that the two do not speak Flemish to each other invariably. When they speak about world affairs, or the worlds of art and literature, not to mention the world of government, they tend to switch into French or to reveal far greater interference in their Flemish, even though, for the sake of our didactic argument, the mood of intimacy and familiarity remains clearly evident throughout. Thus, neither reference group membership nor situational style, alone or in concert, fully explain the variations that can be noted in habitual language choice in multilingual settings. It must also be observed that situational styles, however carefully delineated, may still not provide us with much substantive or procedural insight into the socio-cultural organisation of any particular multilingual setting.

The fact that two individuals who obviously prefer to speak to each other in X nevertheless switch to Y, or vacillate more noticeably between X and Y, when discussing certain topics leads us to consider topic per se as a regulator of language use in multilingual settings and as a parameter in the description of bilingualism. It is obviously possible to talk (medium and role) about the national economy (topic) in a thoroughly informal way (situational style) while relating oneself to one's family (reference group). Under such circumstances—even when reference group and situation agree in requiring a particular language—it is not uncommon to find that topic succeeds in bringing another language to the fore.

The implication of topical regulation of language choice is that certain topics are somehow handled better in one language than in another in particular multilingual contexts. This congruence may be arrived at by several different but mutually reinforcing routes. Thus, some multilingual speakers may "acquire the habit" of speaking about topic *x* in language *X* partially because that is the language in which they were *trained* to deal with this topic (e.g., they received their university training in economics in French), partially because they and their interlocutors may *lack the specialized terms* for a satisfying discussion of *x* in language *Y*, partially because *language Y itself may currently lack as exact or as many terms* for handling topic *x* as those currently possessed by language *X*, and partially because it is considered *strange* or *inappropriate* to discuss *x* in language *Y*. The very multiplicity of sources of topical regulation implies that *topic* may not be a convenient analytic variable when language choice is considered from the point of view of the *socio-cultural organization* of a multilingual setting. It tells us little about the patterns of societally relevant spheres of activity. We may arrive at these latter patterns if we enquire *what it means* when a significant number of people in a particular multilingual setting at a particular time have received certain kinds of training in one language rather than in another; or *what it reveals* about a particular miltilingual setting if language *X is* actually less capable of coping with topic *x* than is language *Y*. Does it not reveal more than merely a topic-language relationship at the level of face-to-face encounters? Does it not reveal that certain socio-culturally *recognized spheres of activity* are, at least temporarily, under the sway of one language, and, therefore, perhaps of one sub-population, rather than another? Thus, while topic is doubtlessly a crucial consideration in understanding lan-

guage choice variance in our two hypothetical government functionaries, we must seek a means of examining and relating their individual and momentary choices to relatively stable patterns of choice that exist in their multilingual setting as a whole. It is in this connection that we have recourse to the concept of *domains of language* behavior.

Domains of Language Behavior

a. The concept of domains of language behavior seems to have received its first partial elaboration from students of language maintenance and language shift among *Auslandsdeutsche* in pre-World War II multilingual settings. Germany settlers were in contact with many different non-German speaking populations in various types of contact settings and were exposed to various kinds of socio-cultural change processes. In attempting to chart and compare the fortunes of the German language under such varying circumstances Schmidt-Rohr seems to have been the first to suggest that *dominance configurations* needed to be established to reveal the overall-status of language choice in various domains of behavior.[9] The domains recommended by Schmidt-Rohr were the following nine: the family, the playground and street, the school (subdivided into language of instruction, subject of instruction, and language of recess and entertainment), the church, literature, the press, the military, the courts, and the governmental administration. Subsequently, other investigators either added additional domains (e.g., Mak,[9] who nevertheless followed Schmidt-Rohr in overlooking the work-sphere as a domain), or found that fewer domains were sufficient in particular multilingual settings (e.g., Frey,[10] who required only home, school and church in his analysis of Amish "triple talk"). However, what is more interesting is that Schmidt-Rohr's domains bear a striking similarity to those spheres of activity which have more recently been independently advanced by some anthropologists, sociologists, social psychologists and linguists for the study of acculturation, intergroup relations, and bilingualism. Domains, such as these, regardless of their number, are oriented toward *institutional contexts* or toward *socio-ecological co-occurrences*.[11] They attempt to designate the *major clusters of interaction situations that occur in particular multilingual settings*. Domains such as these help us understand that *language choice* and *topic*, appropriate though they may be for analyses of individual bilingual behavior at the level of face-to-face verbal encounters, are themselves related to widespread socio-cultural regularities. Language choices, cumulated over many individuals and many choice instances, become transformed into the processes of *language maintenance or language shift*. Furthermore, if many individuals (or subgroups) tend to handle topic *x* in language *X*, this may well be because this topic pertains to a *domain* in which that language is dominant for their society or for their sub-group. Certainly it is a far different social interaction when topic *x* is discussed in language *Y although it pertains to a domain in which language X is dominant*, than when the same topic is discussed by the same interlocutors in the language most commonly employed in that domain. By recognizing the existence of domains it becomes possible to contrast the language of topics for particular subpopulations with the language domains for larger populations.

b. The appropriate designation and definition of domains of language behavior obviously calls for considerable insight into the socio-cultural dynamics of particular multilingual setting at particular periods in their history. Schmidt-Rohr's domains reflect multilingual settings in which a large number of socio-ecological co-occurrences, even those that pertain to governmental functions, are theoretically

[9] Georg Schmidt-Rohr, *Muttersprache*, Jena: Eugen Diederichs Verlag, 1936. (Title of first edition: *Die Sprache als Bildnerin der Völker*. Munich, 1932.)

[9] Wilhelm, Mak "Zweisprachigkeit und Mischmundart in Oberschlesien," *Schlesischer Jahrbuch für deutsche Kulturarbeit*, 1935, 7, 41-52.

[10] J. William Frey, "Amish 'triple talk.'" *American Speech*, 1945, 20, 85-98.

[11] We can safely reject the implication encountered in certain discussions of domains that there must be an invariant set of domains applicable to all multilingual settings. If language behavior is related to socio-cultural organization, as is now widely accepted, then different kinds of multilingual settings show benefit from analyses in terms of different domains of language use, whether defined intuitively, theoretically, or empirically.

permissible to all of the languages present, or, at least, to multilingual settings in which such permissiveness is sought by a sizable number of interested parties. Quite different domains might be appropriate if one were to study habitual language use among children in these very same settings. Certainly, immigrant-host contexts, in which only the language of the host society is recognized for governmental functions, would require other and perhaps fewer domains, particularly if younger generations constantly leave the immigrant society and enter the host society. Finally, the domains of language behavior may differ from setting to setting not only in terms of number and designation but also in terms of level. Thus, in studying acculturating populations in Arizona, Barker,[28] who studied bilingual Spanish Americans, and Barber,[29] who studied bilingual Yaqui Indians, formulated *domains at the level of socio-psychological analysis*: intimate, informal, formal and intergroup. Interestingly enough, the domains defined in this fashion were further specified at the *societal-institutional level*. The "formal" domain, e.g., was found to coincide with religious-ceremonial activities; the "intergroup" domain consisted of economic and recreational activities as well as of interactions with governmental-legal authority, etc. The interrelationship between domains of language behavior defined at societal-institutional level and domains defined at socio-psychological level (the latter being somewhat similar to situational analyses discussed earlier) may enable us to study language choice in multilingual settings in newer and more stimulating ways. One approach to the study of just such interrelationships will be presented below in the discussion of the *dominance configuration*.

c. The "governmental administration" domain is a social nexus which brings people together *primarily* for a certain *cluster of purposes*. Furthermore, it brings them together primarily within a certain set of role-relation and environment co-occurrences. Although it is possible for them to communicate about many things, given these purposes and contexts, the topical variety is actually quite small in certain media (e.g., written communication) and in certain situations (e.g., formal communication), and is noticeably skewed in the direction of *domain purpose* in most domains. Thus, domain is a socio-cultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators, and locales of communication, in accord with the institutions of a society and the spheres of activity of a culture, in such a way that *individual behavior and social patterns can be distinguished from each other and yet related to each other*.[30] The domain is a higher order of abstraction or summarization which arises out of a consideration of the socio-cultural patterning which surrounds language choices that transpire at the intra-psychic and socio-psychological levels. Of the many factors contributing to and subsumed under the domain concept some are more important and more accessible to careful measurement than others. One of these, topic, has already been discussed. Another, role-relations, remains to be discussed. Role-relations may be of value to us in accounting for the fact that our two hypothetical governmental functionaries, who usually speak an informal variant of Flemish to each other at the office, except when they talk about professional or sophisticated "cultural" matters, are themselves not entirely alike in this respect. One of the two tends to slip into French more frequently than the other, even when reference group, medium, role, situational style, topic and several other aspects of communication are controlled. It so happens that he is the superviser of the other.

Domains and Role-Relations

In many studies of multilingual behavior the family domain has proved to be a very crucial one. Multilingualism often begins in the family and depends upon it for encouragement if not for protection. In other cases, multilingualism

[28] George C. Barker, "Social functions of language in a Mexican-American Community," *Acta Americana*, 1949, 7, 185-202.

[29] Carroll Barber, "Trilingualism in Punaro: Social functions of language in an Arizona Yaqui Village," M.A. Thesis, University of Arizona, 1952.

[30] For a discussion of the differences and similarities between "functions of language behavior" and "domains of language behavior" see Fishman, *op. cit.* "Functions" stand closer to socio-psychological analysis, for they abstract their constituents in terms of individual purposive-motivational factors rather than in terms of socio-cultural organization.

withdrawn into the family domain after it has been displaced from other domains in which it was previously encountered. Little wonder then that many investigators, beginning with Braunshausen[9] several years ago, have differentiated within the family domain in terms of "speakers." However, two different approaches have been followed in connection with such differentiation. Braunshausen, and more recently Mackey,[10] merely specified family "members": father, mother, child, domestic, governess and tutor, etc. Gross,[11] on the other hand, has specified *dyads* within the family: grandfather to grandmother, grandmother to grandfather, grandfather to father, grandfather to mother, grandmother to mother, grandfather to child, grandmother to child, father to mother, mother to father, etc. The difference between these two approaches is quite considerable. Not only does the second approach recognize that interacting members of a family (as well as the participants in most other domains of language behavior) are *known* as well as *speakers* (i.e., that there may be a distinction between multilingual *comprehension* and multilingual *production*), but it also recognizes that their language behavior may be more than merely a matter of individual preference or facility but also a matter of *role-relations*. In certain societies particular behaviors (including language behaviors) are *expected* (if not required) of *particular individuals vis-à-vis each other*. Whether role-relations are fully reducible to situational styles for the purpose of describing habitual language choice in particular multilingual settings is a matter for future empirical determination.

The family domain is hardly unique with respect to its differentiability into role-relations. Each domain can be differentiated into role-relations that are specifically crucial or typical of it in particular societies at particular times. The religious domain (in those societies where religion can be differentiated from folkways more generally) may reveal such role-relations as cleric-cleric, cleric-parishioner, parishioner-cleric, and parishioner-parishioner. Similarly, pupil-teacher, buyer-seller, employer-employee, judge-petitioner, all refer to specific role-relations in other domains. It would certainly seem desirable to describe and analyze language-use or language choice in a particular multilingual setting in terms of the crucial role-relations within the specific domains considered to be most revealing for that setting. The distinction between own-group-interlocutor and other-group-interlocutor may also be provided for in this way.[12]

In summary, it seems that degree of bilingualism may be quite different in each of several discriminable domains of language behavior. Such differentials may reflect differences between interacting populations and their socio-cultural systems with respect to autonomy, power, influence, domain centrality, etc.

Some Empirical and Conceptual Contributions of Domain and Dominance Analysis

A description and analysis of the *simultaneous, interacting impact* of all of the above-mentioned sources of variance in language use (media, role, situational and domain variance, with the latter being further divisible into topical and role-relations components) provide a bilingualism dominance configuration. Dominance configurations may be used to summarize data on the bilingual behavior of many individuals who constitute a defined sub-population. Repeated dominance configurations for the same population, studied over time, may be used to represent the direction (or flow) of language maintenance and language shift in a particular multilingual setting. Contrasted dominance configurations may be used to study the differential impact of various socio-cultural processes (urbanization, secularization, revitalization, etc.) on the *same* mother tongue group in different contact settings, or the differential impact of a *single* socio-cultural process on *differ-*

[9] Nicholas Braunshausen, "Le bilinguisme et la famille," in *Le Bilinguisme et l'Education*, Geneva-Luxembourg: Bureau International d'Education, 1928.

[10] Wm. F. Mackey, "The description of bilingualism," *Canadian Journal of Linguistics*, 1962, 7, 51-85.

[11] Feliks Gross, "Language and value changes among the Arapaho," *International Journal of American Linguistics*, 1951, 17, 10-17.

[12] These remarks are not intended to imply that *all* role-relation differences are necessarily related to language-choice differences. This almost certainly is not the case. Just which role-relation differences are related to language-choice differences (and under what circumstances) is a matter for empirical determination within each multilingual setting as well as at different points in time within the same setting.

TABLE I. YIDDISH-ENGLISH MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT IN THE UNITED STATES: 1960-1968
Comparisons for Immigrant Generation "Secularists" Arriving Prior to World War I (First language shown is most frequently used; second language shown is increasing in use)

Sources of Variance			Domains of Language Behavior					
			Neighborhood					
Media	Role	Situational	Family	Friends	Acquaints.	Mass Med.	Jew. Orgs.	Occup.
Speaking	Inter*	Formal	X	X	X	X	X	X
		Informal	Y, E	Y, E	Y, E	E, E	Y, E	E, E
		Intimate	Y, E	Y, E	Y, E	E, E	Y, E	E, E
	Comp.	Formal	X	X	E, E	E, E	Y, E	E, E
		Informal	E, E	E, E	E, E	E, E	Y, E	E, E
		Intimate	Y, E	Y, E	X	X	X	X
	Prod.	Formal	X	X	E, E	X	Y, E	E, E
		Informal	E, E	E, E	E, E	X	Y, E	E, E
		Intimate	Y, E	Y, E	E, E	X	X	X
Reading	Comp.	Formal	Y, E	X	X	X	Y, E	X
		Informal	Y, E	X	X	X	Y, E	X
		Intimate	E, E	X	X	X	X	X
	Prod.**	Formal	Y, E	X	X	Y, E	Y, E	X
		Informal	Y, E	X	X	Y, E	Y, E	X
		Intimate	E, E	X	X	E, E	X	X
Writing	Prod.	Formal	X	X	X	X	Y, E	X
		Informal	E, E	E, E	X	X	Y, E	X
		Intimate	E, E	E, E	X	X	X	X

* For "speaking—inter—" combinations the domains imply topics as well as contexts. In all other instances they imply contexts alone.

** For "reading—production—" combinations the distinction between "family" and "mass media" domains is also a distinction between reading to others and reading to oneself.

and mother tongue groups in similar contact settings.

The domain concept has facilitated a number of hopefully worthwhile contributions to the understanding of bilingualism and language choice. It has helped organize and clarify the previously unstructured awareness that language maintenance and language shift proceed quite unevenly across the several sources and domains of variance in habitual language choice. Certain domains appear to be more maintenance-prone than others (e.g., the family domain in comparison to the occupational domain) across all multilingual settings characterized by urbanization and economic development, regardless of whether immigrant-host or indigenous populations are involved. Under the impact of these same socio-cultural processes other domains (e.g., religion) seem to be very strongly maintenance oriented during earlier stages of interaction and strongly shift oriented once an authoritative decision is reached that their organizational base can be better secured via shift. Certain interactions between domains and other sources of variance seem to remain protective of contextually "disadvantaged" languages, even when language shift has advanced so far that a given domain as such has been engulfed. On the other hand, if a strict domain separation becomes institutionalized, such that each language is associated with a number of important but distinct domains, bilingualism can become both universal and stabilized even though an entire population consists of bilinguals interacting with other bilinguals.

FIGURE I

Type of Bilingual Functioning and Domain Overlap During Successive Stages of Immigrant Acculturation

Bilingual Functioning Type	*Domain Overlap Type*	
	Overlapping Domains	*Non-Overlapping Domains*
Compound (interdependent or fused)	2. *Second Stage:* More immigrants know more English and therefore can speak to each other either in mother tongue or in English (still mediated by the mother tongue) in several domains of behavior. Increased interference.	1. *Initial Stage:* The immigrant knows English via his mother tongue. English is used only in those few domains (work sphere, governmental sphere) in which mother tongue cannot be used. Minimal interference. Only a few immigrants know a little English.
Coordinate (independent)	3. *Third Stage:* The languages function independently of each other. The number of bilinguals is at its maximum. Domain overlap is at its maximum. The second generation during childhood. Stabilized interference.	4. *Final Stage:* English has displaced the mother tongue from all but the most private or restricted domains. Interference declines. In most cases both languages function independently; in others the mother tongue is mediated by English (reverse of Stage 1, but same type.)

The concepts of domain and dominance have also helped refine the distinction between coordinate bilingualism and compound bilingualism[28] by stressing that not only does a continuum rather than a dichotomy obtain, but by indicating how one stage along this continuation may shade into another.[29]

As indicated by Figure I, most late 19th and early 20th century immigrants to America from Eastern and Southern Europe began as compound bilinguals with each language assigned to separate and minimally overlapping domains. The passage of time involved increased interaction with English-speaking Americans, social mobility, and acculturation with respect to other-than-language behaviors as well so that their bilingualism became characterized, first, by far greater domain overlap (and by far greater interference) and then by progressively greater coordinate functioning. Finally, language displacement advanced so far that the mother tongue remained only in a few restricted and non-overlapping domains. Indeed, in some cases, compound bilingualism once more became the rule, except that the ethnic mother tongue came to be utilized via English, rather than vice-versa as was the case in the early immigrant days. Thus, the domain concept helps place the compound-coordinate distinction in greater socio-cultural perspective, in much the same way as it serves the entire area of language choice. More generally, we are helped to realize that the initial pattern of acquisition of bilingualism and subsequent patterns of bilingual functioning need not be in agreement (Figure II). Indeed, a bilingual may vary with respect to the compound versus coordinate nature of this functioning in connection with each of the sources and domains of variance in language choice that are represented in the dominance configuration. If this is the case then several different models of interference may be needed to correspond to various stages of bilingualism and to various co-occurrences of influence on language choice.

Bilingualism, Intelligence and Language Learning

If the foregoing has demonstrated anything at all, it may well be as follows: the adequate

[28] Susan M. Ervin and C. E. Osgood, "Second language learning and bilingualism," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1954, 49, Supplement, 139-146.

[29] In popular terminology the compound bilingual thinks in one language and translates into the other, while the coordinate bilingual thinks in whichever language he is using at the moment. More precisely, the compound bilingual has two fused language systems, while the coordinate has two discrete ones. The distinction is not absolute; a great many bilinguals actually have a system and a half, partly compound and partly coordinate. But the experience of aphasics shows that the coordinate bilingual may lose one of his languages without having this loss affect the other, while the compound bilinguals are equally affected in both. (Einar Haugen, "Bilingualism as a Goal of Foreign Language Teaching," in Virginia F. Allen, editor, *On Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages*, Champaign, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1965, pp. 84-88.

FIGURE II

Initial Type of Bilingual Acquisition and Subsequent Domain Overlap Type

Bilingual Acquisition Type	*Domain Overlap Type*	
	Overlapping Domains	*Non-Overlapping Domains*
Compound (Interdependent or fused)	Transitional bilingualism: the older-versed generation. The "high-school-French" tourist who remains abroad somewhat longer than he expected to.	"Cultured bilingualism": the bilingualism of the "indirect method" classroom whereby one language is learned through another but retained in separate domains.
Coordinate (Independent)	Widespread bilingualism without social cleavage: the purported goal of "impossible" French-Canadians. The "direct method" classroom.	"Use-aided bilingualism" or bilingualism with marked and stable social distinctions such that only one group in a contact situation is bilingual or such that only particular domains are open or appropriate to particular languages.

description of bilingualism is a subtle and difficult undertaking. If this demonstration has any relevance it may well be that any simple statement about the relationship between bilingualism and language learning must, of necessity, be in error[8]—not because the researchers who attempt such statements are incapable, and certainly not because they are knaves—but simply because they have unknowingly based their conclusions on data from one cell of the acquisition type—domain overlap configuration.

Bilingualism has been a characteristic of political and cultural elites throughout world history. Skilled and cultured tutors or companions have been and are still being employed to impart a native, coordinate grasp of "other tongues" to the children of the wealthy and the culturally sophisticated. Both of the languages mastered by these children, their mother tongues and their "other tongues," are commonly learned in contexts of respect, literacy, and fluency. Where this is not the case, where the vernacular of an elite suffers in comparison with some superposed language, no implication of low intelligence or of low verbal aptitude is drawn from the fact that the elites and their children are rather limited in the mastery of their vernacular. It is merely recognized that the vernacular is currently of lesser functional or attitudinal value in the particular social context of elitist families and the best reflection of their verbal ability, therefore, is derived from their "other tongue" usage. Certainly, where everyone is of similar class *and* of similar bilinguality *no substantial relationship between bilingualism and intelligence is possible.*

Similarly, it is only to be expected that individuals who are socialized in verbally unstimulating and non-communicative environments will develop less verbal proficiency, whether they are monolingual or bilingual. They will necessarily score lower on verbal tests of ability and, frequently, will score equally low on conceptual tests of any kind, since their environments are also experientially impoverished and since most non-verbal concepts are frequently facilitated by verbal mediators. If, in addition, such individuals should be tested for verbal ability in an "other tongue" with which they have only limited experience (limited in every way: in domains, in role-relations, in topics, in media, in roles and in situational styles) we are merely adding insult to injury or irrelevance to impertinence.

Finally, given some awareness of the necessary complexity of adequate descriptions of bilingualism and the diversity of bilingual set-

[8] I find particularly objectionable the recent one sentence summary by Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, not only because it is incomplete and, therefore, inaccurate, but because it is most likely to gain widespread acceptance as authoritative: "Children taught two languages from the start are handicapped in both, as compared to the rate of a child learning either language alone. The difference becomes increasingly noticeable with age, to the extent that the child may have serious language difficulties upon entering school." *Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings.* New York, Harcourt, Brace and World, 1963, p. 61. This statement demonstrates the frequent confusion between the reliability of findings and their validity. It leads away from, rather than toward an examination of varying contexts of bilingualism.

tings we need not be surprised that there are settings in which the more bilingual actually appear to be superior in verbal intelligence than the less bilingual or the monolingual. This is certainly the case when monolingual masses are compared to bilingual elites. In addition, where good opportunity for fluency in both languages exists for all social classes, where both languages are considered prestigeful, where there is no official allocation of languages to domains and where bilingualism is voluntaristic rather than obligatory, there is every reason to expect the more intelligent to gravitate toward more balanced bilingualism and toward bilingualism at a higher level of competence. This is exactly what we find, although to a lesser degree, even when social class is held constant.[9]

Thus, we can either find *no* relationship, a negative relationship or a positive relationship between bilingualism and intelligence, depending on where in the dominance configuration, where in the acquisition-domain sequence, and where in the social structure we look. Similarly, there are various possible relationships between bilingualism and language learning. Interference can be minimized if coordinate mastery is coupled with nonoverlapping domains. This combination is not always a feasible goal for language instruction where limitations of time, of talent, and of milieu are considerable. Under such circumstances we may have to settle for compound-overlapping bilingualism which is more replete with interference and which is more obviously instrumental in character. On the other hand, it involves fewer and less serious identity problems.[10]

If by "bilingualism" we mean equal, advanced and non-interfering mastery of two or more codes in conjunction with *all possible interactions* between media, roles, situations, domains, role-relations and topics, we are probably defining a highly theoretical and highly unnatural condition. No natural bilingual population has ever existed that would fit these specifications. Every natural bilingual population makes differential use of its several languages and this differential use both serves to integrate the society as well as to preserve its bilingualism. Both artificiality and anomie are involved in the cases of the rare translators and the equally rare language teachers with perfect, balanced, and advanced bilingualism configurations. The attainment of such configurations need not and cannot be our goal as we labor to advance bilingualism in bilinguals and monolinguals alike.

[9] Elizabeth Peal and Wallace E. Lambert. "The relation of bilingualism to intelligence." *Psychological Monographs*, 1962, 76, no. 27.

[10] Wallace E. Lambert, R. C. Gardner, H. C. Barrick, and K. Tunstall. "Attitudinal and cognitive aspects of intensive study of a second language." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 1963, 66, 358-368. Simon N. Herman, "Explorations in the social psychology of language choice." *Human Relations*, 1961, 14, 149-164.

*Instructional Materials and Aids to Facilitate Teaching the Bilingual Child**

PAULINE M. ROJAS, *Dade County Public Schools, Florida*

THE over-all objective in the education of the bilingual child is his integration into the main stream of American life. This does not mean that the bilingual child must give up his own language and culture, but rather that he must be so educated that he will be able to operate in English when the situation demands English and operate in his own language when the situation demands the use of his own language. It is the obligation of the school to make him literate in both languages. For the bilingual child to be able to operate effectively in the English-speaking world, he must acquire the language to the degree necessary for whatever role his abilities, education and social acceptability enable him to play. In addition, the

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school must give him a workable knowledge of the behavior patterns and value system of the dominant group.

What does he have to learn when he learns English and what kind of materials are needed to enable him to learn what he needs? The linguists tell us that the learner of English as a second language must learn to understand and produce (1) the basic features of the English sound system and (2) the basic features of the grammatical system of English, as well as vocabulary. In other words, he must be able to communicate in English. The materials he needs in order to learn to use the basic features of English automatically, as does a native speaker, are materials which incorporate them in a context which is appropriate to his age and background of experience.

The classroom teacher cannot analyze the English language and set up her own body of materials. Even if she had sufficient competency in linguistics to do this, the result would be chaotic. With each teacher operating independently, some features of the language would not be taught at all and others presented over and over again.

What the classroom teacher needs for teaching the language is materials in which the basic features of English are embedded in teachable units in such manner that they meet the communication needs of non-English-speaking pupils.

Unfortunately, such materials for beginning children are extremely scarce. The teachers' guides to *The Fries American English Series*,[1] which were originally intended for use with non-English speaking pupils who already knew how to read and write Spanish, contain the basic patterns of English sequentially arranged and are to that extent valuable as source material. *English for Today*,[2] another series intended for pupils of elementary and secondary school age, should also be valuable as source material.

The books of *The Fries American English Series* contain multiple suggested activities to induce aural-oral practice which are appropriate for beginning bilingual pupils or can be adapted to their needs. These books also contain excellent material on the pronunciation problems of Spanish-speaking pupils in footnotes, appendices and in the units themselves.

In addition to materials for structured oral practice, beginning first grade pupils need special materials for a developmental reading program with accompanying writing experiences. Recently attempts have been made to produce beginning reading materials which implement the advances in linguistic science which have relevance for the teaching of reading. One of these attempts is the *Miami Linguistic Readers Series* now being produced under a Ford Foundation grant to the Board of Public Instruction, Dade County, Florida. These materials consist of pupil's books, teacher's manuals, seatwork books, "big books" and charts.

The basic assumptions[3] underlying these reading materials and developed by the staff producing them, are essentially as follows:

1. In developing beginning reading materials the focus must be on the skills involved in the process of reading rather than on the uses to which reading is put after the process is mastered.
2. The implementation of the alphabetic principle in beginning reading materials should be in terms of spelling patterns rather than in terms of individual sound-symbol correspondences.
3. The child must learn to read by structures if he is to master the skills involved in the act of reading.
4. Structure as well as vocabulary must be controlled.
5. The materials must reflect the natural language forms of children's speech.
6. The content of beginning reading materials must deal with those things which time has shown are truly interesting to children.
7. The learning load in linguistically oriented materials must be determined in terms of the special nature of the materials.
8. The child must have aural-oral control of the material he is expected to read.
9. Writing experiences reinforce listening, speaking and reading.

[1] Boston: D. C. Heath & Company, 1952.
[2] New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961.
[3] Office of Bilingual Education, Dade County Public Schools, Miami, Florida.

10. The materials must be so selected and organized that they will enable the learner to achieve success as he moves along.

These assumptions[4] are implemented in the materials of the *Miami Linguistic Readers Series* as follows:

1. Aural-oral practice is provided to precede and accompany each segment of the reading program, with special attention given the pronunciation difficulties of the learner.
2. Grammatical structures as well as lexical items are controlled.
3. The materials are organized in such a way that they tend to induce the habit of reading by structures.
4. The spelling patterns of the English writing system are presented systematically.
5. Language forms are presented within the range of what the learner has acquired or is acquiring in order to meet his daily communication needs.
6. Exercises, themes and formats of high interest level are provided, thus promoting a favorable attitude toward books and learning.
7. Attention is focused on the reading process rather than on the uses of reading.
8. Writing activities for systematic reinforcement of the listening, speaking and reading are included.
9. Materials are so organized and graded that the learner's success constantly reinforces his developing skills.
10. Maximum repetition of spelling patterns in relation to total vocabulary load is provided.

It is hoped that readers like the *Miami Linguistic Readers* will make the learning of the skills involved in the process of reading more easily acquired by bilingual pupils than do the traditional basal readers now commercially available. Unfortunately, linguistically based reading materials are only now beginning to be produced. It will undoubtedly be a long time before they will be available to the majority of teachers of bilingual pupils. In the meantime, teachers will have to continue to use the traditional type materials which they now have.

Whatever the series being used, caution must be taken to make sure that bilingual children have ample opportunity to practice listening to and speaking all of the material that they will be expected to read. In beginning book reading, teachers should model the reading of the material sentence by sentence so that the children will get adequate practice in reading by structures imitating the model provided by the teacher. Individual reading will follow group reading as the pupils' skills develop.

In the writing experience provided in the beginning stages, the children must be given the pattern to model rather than be expected to create on their own. They should be helped to avoid writing mistakes.

In summary then, the materials appropriate for meeting the academic and communication needs of beginning bilingual children in English should be those that contain the basic features of English sound and structure arranged in teachable units. The materials in the bilinguals' developmental reading program should be built around the spelling patterns of English. Both kinds of material must be practiced orally until it can be understood and spoken. Systematic practice in listening to, speaking, reading and writing linguistically sound materials will surely enable bilingual children to acquire English much more efficiently and economically than has been possible heretofore. Inasmuch as we already know a great deal about acceptable language teaching methods, the great lack today is for equally acceptable materials.

[4] Office of Bilingual Education, Dade County Public Schools, Miami, Florida.